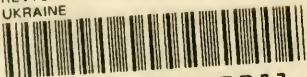






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1931

UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS  
OF THE UNITED STATES.

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POLISH  
ATROCITIES  
IN  
UKRAINE

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY

EMIL REVYUK

editor of the *Svoboda*, the Ukrainian daily,

Jersey City, N. J.

NEW YORK CITY.

1931.

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by the Svoboda Press, Jersey City, N. J.



## PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

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I cannot deny myself the pleasure of thanking publicly Dr. Luke Myshuha and Mr. Volodymyr Kedrovsky, associate editors of the "Svoboda," who, by taking upon themselves disinterestedly my duties towards the newspaper, have made it possible for me to devote my time to the preparation of this book.

I also thank Mr. Joseph Stetkewicz, Miss Vera Stetkewicz, Mr. Joseph Daniel Stetkewicz, and Mr. Waldimir Semenyna, who read the MS. of this book and gave me many valuable comments and made corrections which were the more valuable as we were hard pressed for time (which naturally resulted in many errors creeping into the text).

The Index was prepared by Mr. W. Semenyna.

I must acknowledge further my indebtedness to many friends in Europe, who sent to me various material for this publication, most of whom have to remain anonymous. I must add with a great regret that some of the material was received too late for inclusion in the book. Of this material, the depositions by the victims of the Polish atrocities in Ukraine and a Ukrainian "interpellation" in the Polish Parliament, to the Minister of War, deserve especially to be published in English. This material, together with other data that may follow, such as reports of further proceedings in this matter before Polish court and the Polish Parliament as well as before the League of Nations, is very likely to constitute another volume if the publication of it will prove necessary.

The map on page 11, is reprinted by the courtesy of the New York Herald Tribune. The map at the end of the book was prepared by Rand McNally and Co., of New York, after the ethnographic map by Prof. Lubomir Niederle, the famous Czech scholar.

*E. R.*



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POLISH  
ATROCITIES  
IN  
UKRAINE



1931.

NEW YORK CITY.

UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.





## PREFACE

*About the beginning of October the news came from Western Ukraine that detachments of Polish soldiery had overrun the country and inaugurated a reign of terror. Polish newspapers in America hastened to deny the news; if the news were true, they said, the Polish press in Poland would write about the terror; if the important Polish newspapers of Warsaw are silent about such a great piece of news, it must be because the report is false.*

*As a matter of fact, the "important papers of Warsaw" were silent about the events in Poland's "borderlands." But the Polish newspapers of these "borderlands", notably those of Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, and even those of Cracow, in Poland proper, did write quite extensively about the "great police expeditions into Eastern Little Poland" and displayed the news on their front pages. These papers were on sale on foreign-news-paper stands in America.*

*Some Ukrainian leaders stole out of Poland and from Prague appealed to their friends in America to help morally and materially the Ukrainians under Polish occupation, to protest against the Polish atrocities to the American government and American public opinion and to collect money for rebuilding the country ruined by Polish expeditions. American and English papers had already come upon the news and the foreign correspondents of some of them gave extensive reports of the Polish reign of terror in Western Ukraine. The readers of these papers read with astonishment of brutalities perpetrated almost in the center of Europe, of a ferocity and extent considered possible only in Africa. Seven million people were made victims of oppressions which seemed to have come to an end with the Dark Ages. Centuries of struggle of the oppressed rose out of the history sketched by the reports. And the perpetrator of the misdeeds was the nation that only yesterday appealed for the sympathy of the world against foreign oppressors.*

*Ukrainian immigrants in America and Canada, anxious about the safety of their kin, appealed to the American government to prevail upon Poland to stop the atrocities. They also suggested the setting up of an impartial commission to investigate the reports.*

*Modest as these demands were they goaded the various agencies of Polish propaganda to unusual activity. Polish denials, which had gradually died out under the weight of evidence from the Polish press itself, cropped up anew. This time, however, it was not the Polish newspapers in America which were issuing denials, but the various official representatives of the Polish government in this country. The reports were mocked at as impossible. The correspondents who signed their names to reports were attacked as dishonest. Galicia was represented as enjoying peace and prosperity. Every race was alleged to have equal rights with the Poles. American correspondents were invited to come to Poland and see for themselves.*

*An American reporter taking the invitation of Polish ambassadors at its face value, went to Galicia to investigate. He went there armed with the necessary visas and with letters of introduction to the highest officials of the country. But when he dared to go into the country to "see for himself," he was arrested and his notes and photos were taken away from him. Other travelers in Galicia, American and Canadian, had similar experiences. One of them, an American citizen, was badly beaten by Polish soldiers.*

*With these reports coming in, the people examined other matters touched upon by Polish agents. Are the so-called minority races under Poland really free to develop their culture and religion unhampered? The interest in the whole problem of self-determination of nationalities was revived. Once again the eyes of the enlightened public were turned to that section of Europe, upon which they had been focused for years after the outbreak of the World War, on that meeting line of Central and Eastern Europe, where races, religions and cultures meet and collide. Were not the problems of these peoples solved yet as it had been promised they would be solved by the victors in the World War? Have they not been solved by the various peace treaties following the victory of the Allies? Was not Poland a modern, Western power, with a democratic government, responsible to the parliament, with properly constituted judiciary able to handle any kind of abuses?*

*In November 1930, elections were held to the Polish parliament (sejm) at Warsaw, and the methods used by the Polish government to win a majority in the houses of the "sejm" were so openly high-handed against all kinds of opposition, even amongst the Poles themselves, that the Polish agents had not one leg left to stand upon. It was clear that with such "Polish" elections,*

*with the government itself engineering election frauds, the Polish parliament was no longer a defender of popular liberties. The Polish courts naturally followed the corruption of justice in the purely administrative branch.*

*Realizing the uselessness of the Polish administration, courts and parliament for the vindication of their rights, the Ukrainians and their friends appealed to the governments of the Allied Powers, pointing out their responsibility in the Polish occupation of Eastern Galicia. The attitude of these governments towards the country which they had disposed of without considering the wishes of the people concerned is a lesson in international politics.*

*Only the governments more conscious of their obligations directed the Ukrainians to the international agencies set up for the defense of oppressed groups, primarily the League of Nations. Poland had not only guaranteed the rights of racial minorities but acknowledged the League of Nations as the proper tribunal before which those who feel wronged should come for redress. The Ukrainians made no secret of their desire to take advantage of that right. What attitude has the Polish government taken towards these efforts? The experiences of Ukrainian lawyers who have been suspected of collecting evidence for the use of the League of Nations, the experiences of a Ukrainian-American nurse in the country of her birth, and finally those of a Canadian doctor, who did not believe the stories of his Ukrainian colleagues, illustrate this attitude very well. Poland's action in this matter stands out the more clearly as she herself appeals to the League in behalf of the Poles under the German rule.*

*In the Polish propaganda outside of Poland there was another shifting of the ground. The fact of mass repressions was no longer denied, but various justifications, excuses and extenuations were offered. In Europe they bitterly attack the interest of the American public opinion in the plight of Ukraine as an interference into the affairs of another country, though Poland herself had signed treaties recognizing the interference of other countries for the so-called racial minorities as legitimate. In America they play to the anti-German war sentiment, representing all the Ukrainians as paid German agents, or charge all the Ukrainians who dare to protest against Polish atrocities as communists. Material self-interest is not forgotten, and business corporations doing business in Poland are circularized by the Polish government agents to bear a pressure upon the American government to keep silent on the Polish atrocities for the sake of American business in Poland.*



*The stream of this propaganda finds in America a ready river-bed. America was indirectly a party to the international treaties creating Poland and guaranteeing freedom from oppression to the racial minorities under Poland, but many Americans find it convenient to disclaim all responsibility for the plight of the minorities. The position of some fifteen million non-Poles under Poland seems unimportant, though the World War came directly as a result of much smaller oppression. We talk of international disarmament, but close our eyes to the danger spots of Europe, of which Eastern Galicia is one of the sorest. We debate the possible success of pan-Europe, and do not care to take sides in any such problem as Galicia on the ground that it is debatable. We think that we work for peace and the safety of our investments when we overlook atrocities, though just such atrocities are smoke that may point where the fires are smoldering that might easily flare up in new conflagrations and wipe out our investments.*

*The reader of this booklet will be able to see both sides of the problems; it is no continuous presentation of case, but a compilation of opposing arguments. It makes no claim to originality: it is a mere collection of reports and comments by others, with a note added here and there by the editor. It attempts, however, to give a picture of conditions in a country occupied by a foreign power against the will of the country's people. It gives the international guarantees which were invoked by those who recognized that occupation and thus presents a supplementary chapter to the value of such guarantees.*

*Before all, the editor hopes that this presentation will not only arouse sympathy for the people in dire plight but will arouse the reader to action in their behalf.*

## I.

## ONE OF THE FIRST POLISH REPORTS.

GREAT POLICE EXPEDITION AGAINST UKRAINIAN  
SABOTAGISTS IN EASTERN GALICIA.

*By telephone from our correspondent.*

LVIV, September 21. (C)—During Saturday night there started from Lviv to the rural districts a fully armed *Expedition of a thousand gendarmes under the personal leadership of the commandant of the police of the voyvodship, inspector Grabowski, and a number of police lieutenants.*

The expedition has for its purpose *pacification of the conditions created by Ukrainian sabotagists whose passions were given full vent owing to the impunity with which they had been treated.*

On Sunday the expedition broke up *into three sections* which occupy as central points those centers of unrest in *Bibrka, of the voyvodship of Lviv; in Rohatyn, of the voyvodship of Stanislavov; and Kozova, of the voyvodship of Tarnopol.* Out of those points will start *detachments of police to the villages dominated by sabotagists.* The management of the pacificatory activity in all the three voyvodships of eastern Little Poland is in the hands of the *Voyvoda of Lviv, Dr. Nakoniecznikof-Klukowski.* Reports from various localities began to come in on Sunday evening.

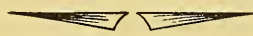
## POLICE ACTION TO LAST SEVERAL DAYS.

LVIV, September 21.—The action has so far embraced the districts of Bibrka, Rohatyn, Berezhany and Pidhaytsi and consists of *searching for arms in villages and putting under guard all the suspected persons.* It will last several days; the details began to arrive on Sunday, but the government has not given them to the public.

According to rumors, *firearms* were found in all the villages searched.

(*Illustrowany Kuryer Codzienny, Cracow, September 23, 1930.*)

(*This is a sample of Polish press reports of the inauguration of the reign of terror in Western Ukraine. This report was one of the first to reach America. The italics in the report are those of the original. Such reports of the Polish press in Poland did not restrain Polish newspapers in America from publishing blank denials of the Ukrainian reports of Polish reign of terror. — Ed.*)



## II.

*A UKRAINIAN PAPER TRIES TO REPORT.*

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## “PACIFICATION”.

*EDITOR'S REMARKS* — Finding it impossible, owing to the conditions of censorship, to present even a picture of all that is going on in our villages and towns, we limit ourselves to dry registration of some facts. More glaring facts and events have to be left out of the reports we continue to receive from the country, or at least strongly toned down to save our paper from expensive confiscations.

(*Dilo*, the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, October 2, 1930).

(*Neither the omission of glaring facts nor toning down saved the paper, however: under the above caption there followed two blank pages. — Ed.*)

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## III.

*THE REPORT OF MR. JOHN ELLIOTT, OF THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.*

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POLISH RAIDERS SCOURGE EAST GALICIA FOR PLOT  
TO FORM UKRAINIAN EMPIRE.

*Armed Force Loots, Flogs and Taxes the Peasantry as Incendiarism Is Laid to Nationalist Scheme.*

## BARBARITY KINDLING SEDITION AND SPITE.

*By JOHN ELLIOTT.*

*From the Herald Tribune Bureau Copyright, 1930.*

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BERLIN, Oct. 15. — A reign of terror unparalleled in Europe since the Lloyd George government sent the notorious “Black and Tans” into Ireland is now prevailing in the Province of East Galicia, where a Polish military expedition is punishing the Ukrainian peasantry because of recent destruction by fire of many farms owned by Poles.

The wave of incendiarism has been ascribed to a terroristic organization which hopes to tear East Galicia from Polish rule

and unite its 3,000,000 Ukrainian inhabitants with the Ukraine Soviet Republic in a Ukrainian empire.

*Peasants Brutally Flogged.*

In the Ukrainian villages of the district, priests and peasants are being brutally flogged with the knout (a lash consisting of a tapering bundle of leather thongs twisted with wire and hardened so as to mangle the body) and women shamefully mishandled, the thatched cottages of the peasants unroofed, schools closed, co-operative stores looted, libraries demolished and ruinous requisitions for foodstuffs levied on the villages by the Polish cavalry and police sent into the country-side on a so-called "mission of pacification."

The object of the military is to put down a terroristic campaign begun by a secret Ukrainian organization which is instigating high school youths to burn crops and barns of Polish landowners. Unfortunately, in the discharge of their duty of restoring order, the Polish troops are punishing indiscriminately the innocent with the guilty and so kindling a spirit of sedition and revenge among the Ukrainians living in East Galicia, who look back with regret upon the easy-going pre-war Austrian rule.

*Stories of Barbarism Recounted.*

This correspondent has just returned from a trip to Lemberg, the capital of the afflicted provinces, where he listened to details of cruelties and barbarism of the Polish troops that would be incredible if they did not come from sources whose trustworthiness is beyond question. The correspondent had the opportunity to discuss the situation with Count Andre Scheptycky, Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church in East Galicia, just after the prelate returned from Warsaw, where he protested to Polish authorities regarding the deplorable effect the tactics of the troops are having upon the Ukrainian population living in Poland.

This so-called "pacification" the Metropolitan declared, "has resulted in outrages connived at by police and military officers in the villages where they are supposed to keep order. The troops systematically destroy public and private property of the Ukrainian rural population. I endeavored to draw the attention of the authorities to the fact that the whole peaceful population cannot collectively take responsibility for single cases of incendiarism which are accomplished without their knowledge. Tactics of the military do not, in the least, prevent perpetrators of fresh



incendiarism from getting off unpunished, despite the inhuman persecutions of the innocent population."

In this campaign of repression at least 200,000 Ukrainians have been arrested and thrown in jail\*), including sixteen of twenty-six representatives of the Ukrainian national party in the last Sejm, as the lower house of the Polish Parliament is called. One of the priests flogged by Polish soldiers, Eugen Mandziy, living at Bohatkiwtsi — has died from the effect of the blows given him.

The "pacificatory" system of the Polish soldiers consists of raiding a village suspected of being implicated in the destruction of the farm of a neighboring Polish landowner. The principal men of the village — the mayor, priest, heads of co-operative societies and leaders of sports and reading clubs — are summoned before the commander of the Polish detachment. The Ukrainians are required to give information regarding acts of incendiarism and to hand over all arms. If their answers are considered unsatisfactory — and this is generally the case — they get sixty or ninety blows from the knout, which used to be employed in Poland only by emissaries of the Russian Czar. If the victims faint under the blows, they are sometimes revived by throwing cold water over them, and then flogging begins anew.

The Polish soldiers have been no respecters of sex, and in many villages women have been subjected to these merciless whippings. Sometimes in their search for arms the soldiers remove the thatched roofs from the cottages and then depart, leaving the hapless occupants exposed to the less brutal treatment of the elements.

### *Signs of Nationality Destroyed.*

The native Ukrainian garb and Ukrainian needlework is destroyed wherever seen in homes of the peasants, for the object of the Polish military commanders is ruthlessly to eradicate all vestiges of Ukrainian nationality. For this reason the Ukrainian co-operative stores and creameries, reading rooms and

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\*) The Manchester Guardian's Berlin correspondent reported on October 24:

"According to a Warsaw message, the Polish Embassy in Washington has issued a denial of reports about Polish atrocities in the Ukraine that have been published in American newspapers, particularly a report in the "New York Herald", according to which there are now 200,000 Ukrainians in Polish prisons. This figure should read 2,000. There has clearly been some mistake or some misunderstanding, for the report was written by one of the "New York Herald's" most careful and experienced correspondents, who visited the Ukraine himself and studied the situation on the spot. The figure in his original report is 2,000."



libraries have been destroyed. Priests are forced to cry out loud "Long live Pilsudski!" (Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, Premier and virtual dictator of Poland) or "Hurrah for the Polish Republic" under threat of being flogged until they are made unconscious if they refrain from so doing.

### *Where Poland Is Punishing a Discontented People*



*Shaded portion of map indicates that part of the old Province of Galicia where troops are administering chastisement indiscriminately*

When the troops enter a village they requisition grain, milk, bread, eggs and vegetables, of course without payment. The community so visited must pay not only for food and drink for soldiers, but even for "smokes." Some unfortunate villages have been raided three and even four times by troops. Ukrainians told me that the horrors they have undergone in the last fortnight — it was only at the end of September that the Polish troops commenced their punitive expeditions — exceeded the miseries they experienced in the World War or in the Russo-Polish War in 1920.

The Polish military action was a reprisal for a systematic campaign of terror instituted by Ukrainian conspirators against Polish private property. This campaign began last June, but reached its height in August and September. In many respects it bears a marked resemblance to the acts of English landowners in Ireland during the '80s of the last century.

*200 Cases of Incendiarism.*

In the three districts into which East Galicia is divided — Lemberg, Tarnopol and Stanislavov — nearly 200 cases of incendiarism have been perpetrated against the Polish landowners in the last three months. This conspiracy is engineered by a terrorism society known as the Ukrainian Military Organization, whose directors aspire to liberate East Galicia from Polish rule and link it up with the Soviet Ukraine in a Ukrainian empire. They dream of a great state extending from the Caspian Sea to the frontiers of Hungary.

The head of this secret society is Eugene Konovalec, who directs its operation from Geneva, the city which once gave shelter to Lenin and Trotzky. This Ukrainian leader was born in Lemberg, the son of a state official who today draws a pension from the Polish government. Konovalec, like Pilsudski, served in the World War as an Austrian officer and later a corps commander under General Simon Petlura when that ill-fated Ukrainian leader tried to effect the independence of his country from Soviet Russia.

In 1920 Konovalec helped to form the Ukrainian Military Organization, after the Ukrainian forces in East Galicia had been subdued by the Poles. Two years later he was forced to flee from Lemberg because of his illegal activities. He went first to Berlin, but lately has moved to Geneva. It is reported that his organization is largely supported by subsidies sent to him from the large Ukrainian colony living in Canada.

According to one version, it was the insistence of the Ukrainian Canadians, who demanded something to show for their money, which brought about inauguration of the terrorist campaign in East Galicia in June. The acts of incendiarism are generally committed by youths in secondary schools. The Ukrainians assert that in many cases the Poles themselves have burned their barns and silos, in order to collect insurance. With grain drawing such low prices these days owing to the world-wide overproduction, it is often more profitable to destroy the crops than to sell them.

*Careful Planning Indicated.*

The Ukrainians also claim that in a number of instances Communists have perpetrated crimes against the Polish farmers. Authorities point out, however, that after nearly every fire a bottle containing the same chemical is found in the neighborhood, indicating that the outrages are not sporadic, but carefully planned by the same organization.

Polish officials also declare that the Ukrainian political party known as the Ukrainian Nationalist Order is linked with the terrorist organization headed by Konovaliec. The "Undo," as the Ukrainian political party is called, stoutly denies this. This party issued a proclamation denouncing the acts of terrorism, but as the manifesto also included an unsparing condemnation of the Polish methods of repression, it was suppressed by the government.

"Undo" is working to obtain autonomy for East Galicia within the Polish Republic, realizing the impracticality of independence at the present time. This party obtained twenty-six seats in the last Sejm, being the largest minority party represented in the Polish Parliament. Altogether some 4,500,000 Ukrainians live in Poland, of which about 3,000,000 are in East Galicia, a part of Poland, which before the war belonged to Austro-Hungary.

The chief grievance of the Ruthenians, as the Ukrainians living in the former Austrian part of Poland are called, is that the autonomy promised them when the League of Nations handed East Galicia over to Poland has never been granted. Ukrainians also complain that they are excluded from admission to Polish civil service or the state offices. They also say that their sons and daughters are discriminated against in admission to the University of Lemberg and that their children have to be sent to distant institutions of learning at a great expense to their parents or go without higher education.

*No Defenders in League.*

The position of the Ukrainians is also unfortunate, in that, although they constitute by far the largest minority in Europe, they have no one to defend their rights before the League of Nations. The German minority living in Silesia, or the Corridor, for instance, can count on Germany to champion their cause before the League. But Ukrainian complaints to the League invariably find their way to the scrap-basket as there is no one in the League

Secretariat at Geneva who cares anything about these peoples. Perhaps it was the inability of the Ukrainians to obtain a hearing for their grievances before the League as well as the remoteness of East Galicia from western Europe that persuaded the Polish military leaders that they could perpetrate their outrages in the province with impunity.

No one can blame the Polish authorities for dispatching four squadrons of cavalry into the province to put down the campaign of terror after civil authorities proved unable to restore order. But the barbarous conduct of the soldiers in their "pacificatory" action has exacerbated the feelings of the Ukrainian peasants to such an extent that a dangerous atmosphere of unrest prevails throughout all of East Galicia. For the time, the wave of incendiarism has been checked, save for a sporadic fire or two, but hatred for Polish rule is now aroused among the Ukrainian rustics, hitherto profoundly uninterested in politics, by these "methods of barbarism" which will not be so easy to remove.

(Courtesy of *The New York Herald Tribune*).

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#### IV.

#### A BATCH OF POLISH DENIALS.

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#### POLISH OFFICIALS LAY EAST GALICIA UNREST TO SOVIET.

*Sabotage Called Attempt to Distract Attention From Revolt  
in Russian Ukraine.*

*From the Herald Tribune Bureau.*

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16. — Polish quarters here, while declining to comment publicly, attributed the present unrest in the province of East Galicia to the activities of Soviet agents, who were declared to be endeavoring to distract attention from the much more dangerous situation in Russian Ukraina.

In the absence of Tytus Filipowicz, the Polish Ambassador, the embassy was unable to comment on the dispatch from the New York Herald Tribune's Berlin correspondent yesterday, describing a reign of terror in East Galicia, due to punishment of Ukrainian peasants for the recent destruction by fire of farms owned by Poles.

Some troops have been sent into the district, it was said, but if a condition such as the correspondent described exists,



Polish officials here declared they were entirely without information. The Polish Ukraine, they said, is contented, whereas Russian Ukraine is virtually in revolt. The only difficulties in the Polish Ukraine, it was said, are due to Soviet agents.

*Consul Cites Soviet Intrigues.*

Soviet intrigues were held responsible yesterday by Dr. Mieczyslaw Marchlewski, Polish Consul General in New York, for unrest in the southeastern portion of his country, where, as the Berlin correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune revealed in a dispatch yesterday, a Polish military expedition is scourging the Ukrainian peasantry because of the recent destruction by fire of many farms owned by Poles.

Dr. Marchlewski would make no official statement, pending receipt of instructions from his government at Warsaw, but he indicated that any repression applied by Polish troops against Ukrainian "terrorists" was essential, in the opinion of Polish and Ukrainian authorities, if danger of a political liaison between the Soviet Union and the 3,000,000 Ruthenians (Ukrainians) of East Galicia was to be eliminated.

According to Dr. Paul Monroe, director of the International Institute at Teachers' College, Columbia University, the Ukrainian terrorist tactics of incendiarism are "quite in accord with the Soviet policy of utilizing the current economic depression for propaganda purposes in neighboring countries." Dr. Monroe, who recently returned from an observation tour of eastern Europe, stated that Marshal Josef Pilsudski, Premier and virtual dictator of Poland, was particularly sensitive to the menace of Bolshevism and would strive to suppress at the outset any disturbance arising in East Galicia, "where there lies the greatest danger of a widespread political conflagration."

*Province Long Discontented.*

Dr. Monroe admitted that the present difficulties might exist solely because of strained relations between East Galicia and Poland, inasmuch as the neighboring Ukraine, although a nominal member of the Soviet Union, had never been "really satisfied" with its Moscow relations. He added that the Ukrainians in East Galicia, because of their acute need of food and clothing, were excellent subjects for political agitation, and that the whole

situation presented an exaggerated example of a condition which has existed for some time\*).

(*New York Herald Tribune*, Friday, October 17, 1930.)

## V.

### ANOTHER AMERICAN REPORT.

#### POLES ACCUSED OF SEVERITY TO UKRAINIANS.

*Even Editor of Polish Paper Protests Against Measures Adopted.  
By Radio from Monitor Bureau.*

LONDON.—The “pacification” of the Ukrainian minority in Polish Eastern Galicia which the authorities at Warsaw announce has just been concluded, has led to serious casualties and stern repressive measures according to information which is trickling over the border from the stricken districts.

For some time past there have been growing indications that the Ukrainians were becoming exasperated with political and economic conditions and were venting their annoyance on the local Polish inhabitants, who number scarcely a quarter of the total population. Warsaw officially announced 53 acts of “sabotage” on Aug. 4, consisting mainly of cutting telegraph and telephone wires, the remainder being attacks on private property, the burning of farms, outhouses, and so forth.

In September the figure increased to 90, and the situation became so threatening that extra police were drafted to the effected area and also considerable detachments of cavalry, the latter under the pretext of holding maneuvers. Although the Poles put the whole blame on the local population, many observers feel that the punitive forces have been in many cases unnecessarily brutal, calling forth rebuke even from a section of the Poles them-

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\*) The above statements of Polish agents and friends in America agree in one point: they emphasize communism as the driving power behind the Ukrainian nationalist and revolutionary movement under Polish occupation. It is worth while for the reader to study them in the light of the statements of the Polish authorities in Poland who carried out the “punitive expedition”, which “pacified” the Ukrainians. He will note that the police and military, as well as the judges and the press, spoke of their “reasons” for “pacification”. The soldiers flogging the peasantry, intellectuals and priests, also gave reasons for their brutality. They told their victims clearly, and punctuated their statements with blows, what they wanted from them. Let the reader see for himself if any of the victims is ever charged with communism, if he is ordered to renounce communism, or communist leaders or agents; or at least friendship to Russia. What are then the declarations of Polish agents and friends in America in the light of the authentic declarations of the “heroes” of pacification themselves?—Ed.

selves, as, for instance, when the editor of the Socialist daily Robotnik, at considerable personal risk, protested against the measures adopted.

The Ukrainian grievances which led to the outbreak are due mainly to the absence of sufficient schools and the attempts of the Poles to Polonize Ukrainian children. Even before the World War there was a strong Ukrainian national movement and a delegation from Ukrainia went to Paris during the peace negotiations. The Poles at first seemed inclined to sympathize with Ukrainian aspiration; but after the failure of Marshal Pilsudski's march on the Ukrainian capital of Kiev when he announced his intention of forming a great Slav federation to include not only Poland but also the independent republics of Ukrainia and White Russia, the minorities of these races both in Russia and Poland have been under a severe cloud, particularly in the latter country. The result in Poland has been the formation of a number of secret organizations, chief of which is the sports society known as Sokoly; a kind of scouts' organizations, called Plasty and a voluntary fire brigade called Luh, which are said to have 513, 76 and 747 branches, respectively\*).

A feature of the agitation is the part played by the younger sections of the population. Indeed, the Poles allege that many of the acts of incendiarism carried out in recent months have been performed by school children. Unfortunately, it seems probable that the latter have been among the chief sufferers during the campaign of repression. But politicians, priests and students have also been involved and a considerable number arrested. Politics in any part of Poland is an unsafe occupation at present, no fewer than 51 members of Parliament being under arrest today out of a total of 444.

Another of the grievances of the Ukrainians is the gradual infiltration of Polish colonists in districts previously inhabited almost exclusively by Ukrainians\*\*). There is no doubt that if Russia were not Bolshevized, there would be a strong agitation on the part of Polish Ukrainians for a reunion with their brethren on the other side of the border. And it is generally recognized

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\*) This charge of revolutionism against "Sokil", "Luh", and "Plast" are made by Poles and have no basis in facts. "Sokil" is the Ukrainian counterpart of the Czech, Polish, Slovak and Croatian athletic organizations of the same name. "Luh" is the same organization adapted for the village. "Plast", which is the Ukrainian name for scout, is a boy-scout organization. None of these organizations was revolutionary. None was even secret, each being organized openly.—Ed.

\*\*\*) See Ed's. special article on colonization of Ukraine by Poland.

that when political conditions in Russia sober down, Poland may be faced with an even stronger Ukrainian desire for at least autonomy, if not entire separation from Poland, than it is today.

Fortunately this is understood by many thoughtful Poles who deplore the attitude of the present rulers of the country toward minorities in general, particularly toward the Ukrainians in the east and Germans in the west. The forthcoming Polish elections which are scheduled for Nov. 16 may bring matters to a head for if, as expected, they go against Marshal Pilsudski, despite his imprisonment of many of his leading opponents, the Marshal will either have to convert his existing veiled dictatorship into an open one or allow the country to return to constitutional government. It is hoped this latter eventuality would mean immediate relief for the minorities.

(*The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, October 17, 1930)

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## VI.

### *THE POLISH AMBASSADOR'S INDIGNANT DENIAL*

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#### "THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND."

"It is with amazement and indignation that I have read, just before my landing, a report of Mr. John Elliott, Berlin correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, on the situation in South-eastern Poland. This report is untrue as to facts, biased and hostile in spirit. I consider it a unique incident in the history of Journalism. With frankness, which I consider the basis of friendly relations between people, I must state, that I was surprised to see this report published in a paper like New York Herald Tribune, which is so well known for its seriousness of purpose and objective information. Mr. Elliott's report teems with statements which, indeed, don't need any denial, for their absurdity is evident. Imprisonment of two hundred thousand people on a territory of the size of New Hampshire is as obviously a technical impossibility, as the statement that four squadrons of cavalry or roughly five hundred men had inflicted upon a population of three million, sufferings comparable to those which this population had endured during the Great War. I don't find



it necessary to multiply examples of baseless accusations uttered by Mr. Elliott against the Polish Administration, the Polish Army, and the Polish people. Poland is well known the world over for her liberal spirit always shown by her racial minorities, a spirit which in several instances had been recognized and commended by League of Nations. The article in question is based on wilful untruth. I herewith invite correspondents of all American papers, who would wish to avail themselves of such opportunity, to visit Poland and I assure them that my Government will supply them with all facilities to get acquainted with the local situation in Southeastern Poland.

„TYTUS FILIPOWICZ.”

Original statement as quoted by *Nowy Świat* (“Polish Morning World”), New York, Sunday, October 19, 1930.

*(The attack of the Polish ambassador is characteristic of the Polish methods of denouncing the newspapers and correspondents who dare to write about the Polish government's treatment of non-Polish People.*

*The report that two hundred thousand Ukrainians were arrested by the Polish government, for which the Polish ambassador calls Mr. John Elliott a wilful liar, proved to be an error of the cable in transmission.*

*The Polish ambassador imagines every possibility, even a wilful lie, rather than such an error.*

*The invitation of American correspondents to come to Galicia and to take advantage of the facilities offered by the Polish government is another characteristic gesture of Polish diplomatic propagandists. This invitation has brought to Poland Mr. Negley Farson, the European correspondent for several American newspapers. — Ed.)*

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## VII.

## REPORT OF LEADING ENGLISH PAPER.

## THE TRAGEDY OF UKRAINE.

*A Polish Terror.**Cruelties of "Punitive Expeditions."*

The Polish terror in the Ukraine is now worse than anything that is happening anywhere else in Europe. The Ukraine has become a land of despair and desolation that is all the more poignant because the rights of the Ukraine have been guaranteed by international treaty, because the League has been altogether deaf to appeals and arguments, and because the outside world does not know or does not care. In previous messages I have repeatedly called attention to the present state of the Ukraine, but I have now received an abundance of precise details from a reliable source that can not be revealed at the moment.

In such a condition as exists in the Ukraine there are always acts of violence on both sides, but the excesses of the Poles are out of proportion to the acts of violence committed by Ukrainians. I have reported the latter from time to time in my messages. They consist chiefly of individual acts of incendiarism and cutting telegraph wires. They are reported in the Polish and Ukrainian papers, but the Polish brutalities, which are systematic and on a terrible scale, are not reported at all.

*Terrorising Home-Rulers.*

The Ukrainians, of course, want home rule and have been struggling for it in various ways. In this struggle their occasional acts of violence — which are nearly always reprisals for arrests made by the Poles, or for sentences, sometimes of death, passed on Ukrainian prisoners — are of very small significance. They are also discouraged by the Ukraine leaders, and the Ukraine people as a whole cannot be held responsible for them, yet it is the Ukrainian people as a whole who are now being made to suffer. The Polish "punitive expeditions," of which I am about to give details, are not directed against individuals, but against a whole people, particularly against its co-operative creameries and institutes — its whole civilization, in fact. Whatever excesses may have been committed by individuals on either side, it is the fact that the Polish police and cavalry are carrying out a policy of terrorisation and that the victims are almost all ordinary people who have nothing to do with politics, whether Polish or Ukrainian.

I have selected the following cases from a large number that are dreadful almost beyond belief. And even the wealth of material that has come into my possession is only a part of what has actually been perpetrated by the Polish detachments who are still "pacifying" (to use the official term) the Polish Ukraine (which is officially known as Eastern Galicia).

*Villagers Cruelly Beaten.*

On September 14 a detachment of the 4th Polish Cavalry Regiment arrived at Hrusiatycze, in the district of Bobrka. Large quantities of grain, vegetables, bread, eggs, and milk were requisitioned without any payment. At midnight the mayor was ordered to reveal the names of villagers with arms in their possession. He said he knew of none, whereupon he was seized by five soldiers, who gave him fifty strokes with a stick. Eight other villagers were similarly beaten.

In the night of the 14th a cavalry detachment at Stary and Nowy Jaryczow thrashed some thirty of the villagers with their riding crops. On the 16th some Polish cavalrymen arrived in the village of Gaye, near Lemberg. On the way there they had caught some peasants who were going to work in the fields and beat them unmercifully. They commandeered a large quantity of food stocks. They caught a number of peasants, men, women, and children, and beat each one in turn until the victim lost consciousness. Cold water was then thrown over him, and the beating was sometimes renewed when consciousness returned.

Iwan Romanyszyn and his son and daughter were so beaten that they were left in a dreadful condition, and so were the two children of the mayor of the village. Damian Prus was so roughly handled that his leg was broken. The co-operative store was demolished by the Poles and the storekeeper, a woman, flogged. The windows of the village reading-room were smashed. Similar things were done at Podberezce, near Lemberg, on the same day. The co-operative store was looted and many of the villagers were beaten — Peter Bubela, a mere boy, was so beaten that his life is in danger.

In the village of Hurowce, in the district of Tarnopol, food-stuffs were commandeered, the peasants were beaten, and one of them, Olexa Politacz, was made to run along the village street and shout "Long live Marshal Pilsudski!" while several cavalrymen ran after him beating him all the time.

*Beaten to Death.*

On the 27th and 28th September cavalry detachments raided several villages in the district of Grudek Jagiellonski. Ruinous requisitions were made, and many peasants were terribly beaten. The following were beaten to death: — Olexa Mensals (in the village of Bartatow), Mikolaj Moroz and Stefan Siktasz (in Stawczany), Antoni Szandra (Kiernice), and Hrynko Szmagala (Lubien Wielki).

On the 22nd and 23rd, detachments of armed foot police invaded the village of Kupezynee (Tarnopol), demolished the co-operative store and the reading room, and smashed the instruments belonging to the village orchestra. Many of the villagers were beaten. A peasant named Teodor Czajkowski was beaten to death in the village of Dolzanka. On the 23-rd the police arrived at Pokropiwna (Tarnopol). Many of the peasants were seized and compelled to kiss "the Polish soil" and utter insults about "Mother Ukraine." Wlodzimierz Kril was so beaten that his life is in danger. Many peasants were so covered with blood and bruises after the beatings that they were hardly recognisable.

*Villages Devastated.*

The village schoolmaster, Mikola Antoniak, his wife Anna, as well as a number of other villagers (whose names are in my possession) were very gravely hurt. The wife of Michael Szkolnyj was forced to sing the Polish National Anthem while she was being flogged. The village store was demolished. The contents were piled up, soaked in paraffin oil, and set alight. The creamery and reading-room library were destroyed.

Similar things were done in many other villages (I have in my possession some thirty further names of men, women, and children who were so maltreated that their condition is grave).

In the village of Zurow the creamery was totally demolished — even the machinery, the chemicals, and the glass bottles were smashed up. The persons employed in the creamery were mercilessly flogged — a girl named Nastja Bobyk is in a dreadfully damaged state. Nor were the towns spared — Nowe Siolo, Rohatyn, Brzezany, amongst others, were invaded by detachments of police. The Ukrainian co-operatives, reading-rooms, libraries, and institutes were demolished, tables, chairs, books, earthenware, stoves, crockery, and pianos were smashed, floor boards were torn up, clothes and bedding were slashed about with knives. At Tarnopol the library of 40,000 volumes was destroyed.



*A Victim's Letter.*

The following extract from a private letter written less than a fortnight ago gives a characteristic picture of what is still going on in the Ukraine (the name of the writer and of the estate of which he is overseer must, for obvious reasons, be withheld, although they are in my possession):

"I was going to drive over to the post office on Thursday because I had been hoping I would get a letter from you for a week. I also wanted to talk to my brother on the telephone about an urgent business matter... The carriage arrived. I took my coat and left the house. It was four in the afternoon. That moment a cart drove up with six strange policemen sitting in it. They jumped down from the cart and asked me 'Are you ——?' I answered 'Yes,' and asked them to step in. Four of them were ordinary policemen, two were police officers. When they entered the room they saw my sporting gun. One of them took it down, and asked if I had a license. I produced my license, whereupon one of the officers stepped up to me and said 'You ——,' struck me across the face several times, and then caught both my wrists, whereupon the other policemen beat me with sticks. When I collapsed they beat me as I lay on the floor.

*Home Smashed Up.*

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"I do not know how long this went on, for I fainted. When I came to I was wet all over, for they had poured cold water over me... I sat huddled on my bed completely knocked out and saw the six policemen demolish my home. They smashed all the windows, they smashed the stoves in the kitchen and in the living-room, they broke chairs and tables, tore up the books, pulled clothing and linen out of the cupboards and tore them with their bayonets, they cut the cushions and scattered the feathers, my fur coat was completely destroyed. When they were done they drove off in my own carriage...

"I must have screamed frightfully when I was being beaten, for the peasants in the fields, Poles amongst them, informed the local police, who at once came along. But they never got here, for they met the punitive expedition (that is, the six strange policemen), and after conversing with them for about ten minutes turned back again. Dr. ——, whom I went to see, told me that as long as he had been doctor he had never seen a man in such a terrible state as I was in."

*A Civilisation Wrecked.*

The "pacification" of the Ukraine by means of these "punitive expeditions" is probably the most destructive onslaught yet made on any of the national minorities and the worst violation of a minorities treaty. Indeed, it is a whole civilisation, and a very high one, that has been wrecked within the last three weeks. The co-operatives, schools, libraries, and institutes have been built up in years of work, sacrifice and enthusiasm by the Ukrainians, almost entirely out of their own resources and in the face of immense difficulties. They feel the loss of these things almost as much as their inhuman physical sufferings.

The Poles will no doubt publish the usual official denials. An immediate and impartial investigation on the scene of the tragedy, accompanied by guarantees against the intimidation of witnesses, is an urgent necessity.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, October 14, 1930).

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## VIII.

*AN EYE-WITNESS REPORTS.*

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## TRAVELER TELLS OF TERROR REIGN IN EAST GALICIA.

*Dr. William Borak Back From Trip, Relates 'Pacification'  
by Polish Troops.*

An account of harsh treatment by Polish troops directed against the the Ukrainians of East Galicia was supplied yesterday by Dr. William Borak, of 307 East Eighteenth Street, who returned from Europe aboard the liner *America* last Saturday. Dr. Borak said he had witnessed the so-called "pacification" of the Ukrainians in the village of Shyly, District of Zbaraz, where he visited his brother, Damian Borak, a teacher, and asserted the account of the Galician situation in the New York Herald Tribune of October 16, furnished by its Berlin correspondent, was "true in every respect."

Many Ukrainians, Dr. Borak said, were whipped to death. In the village of Roznoshince, District of Zbaraz, he said, the mayor died of whippings. Polish soldiers were quartered there

for "pacification" for three days, he added, "and after their departure the village looked as if Tartars had passed through it."

*Forced to Provide for Troops.*

About September 14, said Dr. Borak, it was learned at Shyly that a squadron of Uhlans had arrived at Kurovtsi, several miles distant, to "pacify" the village on the pretext that the villagers had refused to furnish a guard for the landlord's stack of hay and sheaves of grain, which were supposed to be threatened with incendiarism by Ukrainian revolutionists. The Polish government quartered 200 soldiers in Kurovtsi, which was ordered to furnish them with quarters, food and tobacco, the doctor said. The peasants were ordered to deliver each day to the military command two hogs, twenty kilograms (forty-four pounds) of butter, four carloads of hay or clover, 200 chickens or ducks and other food.

According to Dr. Borak the peasants were ordered to spread for the soldiers their best carpets, which were neither returned nor paid for; they were obliged to furnish horses and wagons, the latter being used for their own torture. He asserted that several peasants were forced to occupy the drivers' seats and whip those harnessed. A procession of wagons, thus formed, was driven at sabers' points through the village, while the peasants were made to sing the Polish national anthem.

*Saw Many Cut with Knives.*

On September 19, said Dr. Borak, news came that the peasantry of the village of Khodachkiv Maly had been attacked by thirty or forty gendarmes, who surrounded the church while the peasants were praying in it. As each man and woman left the church, Dr. Borak said, he or she was seized by the Polish gendarmes, who cut with knives the embroidered collars, cuffs and bosoms of their shirts. These embroideries, being peculiar to the Ukrainian peasantry, were considered by the gendarmes an outward sign of Ukrainian nationalism. The doctor said many peasants were cut by the knives.

Several days later, on a Sunday, according to Dr. Borak, three Polish soldiers armed with revolvers and knives drove in an automobile into the village of Chernikhovtsi. They rushed at the youths gathered at the village green and started to cut their embroideries, "wounding, slashing and threatening to shoot." Dr. Borak said he witnessed this scene, Chernikhovtsi being his

birthplace. "When the youths took a threatening attitude," he said, "the soldiers jumped into their automobiles and escaped."

On September 28 a house burned down at Shyly. Four gendarmes came from the near-by village of Lisichince and ordered the Mayor to hand over the incendiaries within three hours. While a group of village officials and the local teacher, Dr. Borak's brother, Damian, watched the fire die out, the owner of the house approached Damian Borak and asked him in Polish "if it was all right now to take out the furniture from the cellar." Damian Borak reported to the Mayor, who investigated and found the house had been emptied of its furniture, which had been locked in the cellar. The gendarmes, to whom the Mayor reported this, refused to accept his statement, but ordered him to call to his office at once all the officials and grown men of the village. When they arrived, Dr. Borak said, the gendarmes whipped them, inflicting twenty-five lashes on each man. The teacher, Damian, being a Ukrainian, was whipped with the others.

*Asserts Poles 'Played Trick'.*

The next day, Dr. Borak continued, a detachment of Polish Uhlans entered the village. First they demanded meat, milk, vegetables and flour, for which the peasants were not paid. Then they began to "play tricks"; a peasant would be ordered to climb the thatch of his house and take it apart, then would be whipped for what he had done under duress; another was ordered to kill all his chickens, and then was made to sling the chickens on a rope, tie it about his neck and march around the village thus adorned, singing the Polish national anthem.

Dr. Borak left Shyly on September 29. The soldiers had departed, and the village "looked as if a hurricane had passed through it." Thatches of many houses were destroyed, Dr. Borak said, and stacks were thrown asunder. In many a barnyard all the flour of the owner lay mixed with dust and soaked with kerosene which the soldiers had poured on it. The best clothes of the peasantry, their linen and carpets, were carried off in automobiles by the military commanders.

Damian Borak, who was ill from the treatment he had received, pleaded with Dr. Borak to depart for America, as rumors were circulating that the Polish soldiers would again invade the village.

*(The New York Herald Tribune, October 21, 1930).*



## IX.

## ANOTHER AMERICAN REPORT.

## UKRAINIAN BISHOPS ASK GALICIAN PEACE.

*They Will Urge Ruthenians to Cease Secret Revolutionary Moves Against Warsaw.*

## TERRORIST FORCES ROUTED.

*Polish Police and Cavalry Crush Organization of Extremists, Ending Sabotage Campaign.*

*Wireless to The New York Times.*

WARSAW, Oct. 18. — The Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Eastern Galicia, which accepts the authority of the Pope and not that of the Greek Orthodox Church, sat for three days this week in conference in Lwow, with the Metropolitan, Archbishop Szeptycki, in the chair, discussing a pastoral letter to be issued to the Ukrainian people on the unrest provoked by secret revolutionary anti-Polish movements and the subsequent retaliations.

The majority of the people in these Southern Polish provinces are Ukrainians and belong to the Greek Catholic Church, usually referred to as the Ruthenian rite. The relations of the two Slav races so closely related have never been happy, the Austrian Empire's policy in pre-war days having been to play the Ruthenians against the Poles and vice versa. The Governor of Galicia always has been a Pole, and so have the tax collector and police officer — the empire was impersonated in the Ukrainian peasant's mind in a Polish landlord and a Polish-speaking official.

In the last pre-war decades great progress in education and political and cooperative organizations was made by the Ruthenians. The new young and ambitious intelligentsia took the lead in carrying to the peasant the ideal of Ukrainian independence, perhaps federated with their brethren across the Russian frontier. The war, they hoped, would bring fulfillment of their dreams. It did not. The war ended and the Austrian Empire fell, but the Polish State took possession of Eastern Galicia.

The Ukrainian national leaders first refused to take cognizance of the existence of the Polish State. Immigrants abroad

still talked about independence. Every compromise, even with the most Liberal Poles, was rejected.

Meanwhile, the Ambassadors' Council at Paris in 1923 confirmed Polish rights to Eastern Galicia. In 1928 Ukrainian national leaders appeared in the Polish Sejm, and one was even elected vice president of the Sejm.

The Polish dictatorship for a time was too busy establishing itself in Warsaw to worry much about Eastern Galicia. As a consequence the radicals and extremists in the Ukrainian national movement took the opportunity to organize a secret military organization, led by Colonel Konowalec, and embarked on a campaign of sabotage. Trains were derailed, bridges blown up, telegraph wires cut, postmen assailed and robbed, and the houses of Polish landlords were burned.

Local authorities were powerless to cope with the situation and appealed to Warsaw, which sent a special commissioner to take charge. Ruthlessly police and cavalry detachments marched from town to town and from village to village to break up the secret terrorist organization. Neither priest nor Deputy was spared — indeed, seventeen former Deputies and eleven parish priests are in jail now.

Charitable institutions, cooperatives and sporting and educational associations were dissolved. Two high schools at Tarnopol and Rohatyn were closed. The number of those arrested, mostly young students, is not yet known, but it is believed to total about 500.

*(The New York Times, October 19, 1930).*

*(The report evidently was taken from Polish sources.*

*The unhappiness of the two Slavic races under Austria could have been remedied if the two races had been allowed to live separately, each in a province of its own, and not forced to live in that administrative monstrosity, the largest administrative unit of Europe, that artificial conglomeration of races, religions and cultures called by the borrowed name of Galicia, proper only for its eastern section. The division of that Galicia into the Ukrainian part and the Polish part, however, was bitterly opposed by the Polish nobility, anxious to rule both sections, and the Austrian government, by yielding to Polish demands, assured itself of the Polish support.*

*The report speaks of compromises offered by Poles. It would be interesting to see at least one of them, even from the "most*

*Liberal Poles."* As to the charge of Ukrainian intransigence, the reader is referred to the article of the Polish publicist A. Bochenski, in the Cracow "Czas," of December 18, 1930.

As to the theory that the Polish dictatorship has contributed to the growth of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement by its preoccupation with establishing itself, is a claim which the Poles never made so far. The commencement of the Ukrainian Military Organization, even according to the Polish government, antedated the seizure of the government by the Pilsudski group.

The report purports to identify almost the entire Ukrainian national movement with the secret revolutionary organization. The purpose of this is evidently to justify the brutalities directed against the Ukrainians as a race. As a matter of fact, the political life of the Ukrainians under Poland is not different from that of other races in similar conditions. There exists a secret revolutionary organization, but outside of it there are other and varied political and non-political groups, organizations and activities. There are political parties opposed to the revolutionary methods, a fact which the Poles try to conceal now just as formerly they tried to conceal the existence of the Ukrainian revolutionary group. As in other races, the churches naturally are opposed to revolutionary methods. Here the church tries to make its stand known to the world, with consequences which are instructive.

As to the number of the Ukrainians arrested, the reader may compare the report of Mr. Negley Farson, of the Chicago Daily News, on the admission of the commissar of public safety at Lviv, and then declaration of the Polish minister of the Interior in the Polish Sejm. — Ed.).

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## X.

*A PASTORAL LETTER SUPPRESSED FOR CONFIRMING  
OFFICIAL TERROR.*

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POLISH OUTRAGES IN THE UKRAINE.  
ROBBERY & MURDEROUS BEATINGS.  
*BISHOP'S PROTEST.*

*Letters from Victims of Soldiery.*  
(From our own Correspondent).

Berlin, Tuesday.

More and more evidence of the damage done by the Polish "punitive expeditions" in the Ukraine becomes available almost every day. The following four documents have now come into my hands.

1. A pastoral letter by the Uniate Metropolitan Bishop of Lemberg, Count Szeptycki. This venerable ecclesiastic attempted to mediate between the Poles and the Ukrainians, going to Warsaw himself in the hope that he might be able to end the calamity that had come over the Ukraine. His efforts were in vain. On October 13 he issued a pastoral letter condemning acts of violence committed by the Ukrainians, but also the atrocities committed by the Poles. This letter was confiscated by the police on the 16th. The full text is in my possession.

It expresses the hope "that our word will contribute towards the return of normal conditions in our land and towards putting an end to the punishment of the innocent. In this hope and in this pastoral letter we turn to you, beloved brethren in Christ. It is with great pain and with deep mourning that we witness actions to which we cannot in justice agree. Those who are guilty (that is to say, Ukrainians guilty of incendiarism and other violence) have not been discovered, and in their stead the responsibility is laid upon the whole people — upon the clergy, the intelligentsia, and the peasants. The whole population is being severely penalised by dragooning levies and requisitionings without any fault of its own.

"Punitive expeditions are being sent into a number of villages where there has been no sabotage—that is to say, where there has been no residence to the State, where, in fact, the population have been altogether peaceful and loyal. It is with great concern for the future that we observe many incidents in which (to our great



grief) physical force was lawlessly used to destroy the cultural and economic heritage of the people and to violate and maltreat the defenceless and the innocent. Even the clergy were in many cases mercilessly beaten in the presence of the people, so that they were humiliated and their spiritual dignity and authority were trampled under foot."

The pastoral letter then goes on to describe the Bishop's vain effort to mediate at Warsaw. It urges the Ukrainian people to be patient and reasonable in its misfortunes, to "show Christian humility," and to devote itself to study productive work. "It is true," the letter ends, "that the present situation is exceptional and apprehensive, but all the greater is the need for such work."

#### *Women and Children Maltreated.*

2. A letter written by a Ukrainian to a friend (the original of this letter is in my possession) and giving a general account of what is happening. "In all Eastern Galicia," so the letter begins, "Polish cavalry ride from village to village. They ride at night time, they drag the men out of their beds and drive them together in the village hall. The men are then beaten in the most inhuman fashion with thick cudgels. Some of the victims get 50 to 100 or even 200 blows. Many die of their injuries. Many will be crippled for life. The chickens in the villages are stolen, and the inhabitants have to pay heavy contributions of grain. When these bands approach, those inhabitants who are informed in time flee to the forests. There is a terror and despair. As in the days of the Tartar invasions women and children are maltreated and violated."

The letter goes on to describe specific incidents, and finishes with the words: "I could describe hundreds of incidents of this kind that happened in our district."

#### *Paraffin Poured on Grain.*

3. A letter written by a Ukrainian peasant to his son: "My dear son. — The guests (that is, the Poles) were with us for two days. They were quiet on Tuesday, but in the evening, after they had [left], a stack of corn was unfortunately burnt down at Hropiwka. The owner telephoned to the Uhlans (that is, the Polish cavalry). They returned on Friday. They beat the people unmercifully, robbed, plundered, and destroyed. They threw earth on the grain and poured paraffin oil on it. They maltreated the people like wild beasts. The history of mankind cannot show the like. Whenever they caught one of us eight

Uhlans would beat him. They have pulled the roof off our home. They have smashed the windows and broken the cupboards and tables. The separator was demolished and thrown into the well. They cut up the bedding and scattered the feathers. They poured paraffin oil on the grain in the barns."

*Wanton Destruction.*

4. A letter written by a Ukrainian peasant at Schyly on October 2. The following are a few extracts:—

"In the night of the 26-27th September, 1930, a hundred mounted police turned up unexpectedly at Schyly, in the district of Sbarasch, in Eastern Galicia. They at once imposed the following levy on the village. One roast chicken per inhabitant as well as other foodstuffs and drinks. Whoever did not hand over his contribution very quickly was beaten with nagaikas. [A nagaika is a kind of whip. It was used in Tsarist Russia].

"After this the police violated a number of young girls in the village. The following morning they requisitioned 70 carts, and thereupon plundered the whole village. They destroyed the monument of the Ukrainian poet Shevchenko, they destroyed the whole stock of the Co-operative — for example, they mixed the sugar with the salt. They threw all the goods into one heap, stamped on it, and then poured paraffin oil on it. They destroyed the Ukrainian Reading Room and the Library. Then these guardians of the law discovered some Cossack costumes on the stage of our reading room (we used them for our theatricals). They compelled the peasants to put these costumes on. Then they made them march past, hitting them all the time with their nagaikas. They then compelled the peasants to destroy the Ukrainian "People's Home" with axes. A number of peasants were knocked down by them, and got twenty to sixty nagaika blows each. One peasant at Suchiwziach was so maltreated, on and off, for two days that he died a few hours after he was released.

"We have nothing left to eat, and we cannot even cook, for all our cooking utensils are destroyed. They have stolen everything valuable they can lay hands on — money, watches, razors, and jewelry. We went to the World War, but never did we experience such treatment and such horrors. Even little children and women were beaten and maltreated."

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday, October 22, 1921).

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## XI.

*A BATCH OF LETTERS FROM THE LAND OF TERROR  
DESCRIBING THE ATROCITIES.*

## 1.

FATHER WRITES TO DAUGHTER HERE OF TROUBLES  
IN NATIVE UKRAINIA.

Miss Mary Pypiuk, niece of Harry Pypiuk, of 159 Tilghman Street, former director of the famous Ukrainian choir of this city, and who has resided with the family of her uncle for the past three years, received news of the conditions under which the Ukrainians are living in their home country at present.

Miss Pypiuk was born in America, as was a sister Anna, who is with her parents in the old country. Her parents were married in Ansonia, Conn., but some time after Anna's birth, returned to their homeland. Mary returned to this country for four years, living with relatives in New York, and later coming to Allentown.

The letter received by the local girl follows:

"My dear daughter:

"We received your letter which cheered us that you are in the best of health.

"Dear daughter, we happen to be one of the fortunate ones to have escaped thus far the brutal attacks which the Polish Government inflicts upon the people of Ukraine. There have been days that the people would flee from their homes not knowing where to run. The Polish Army would surround our little village so that no person could escape, thus giving them a larger number to beat up. They usually start with the Ukrainian doctors, professors, and people who are associated with the Ukrainian politics, also officers of the Ukrainian National Home which is located in our village and of which your father is one of the officers. As yet he has not been harmed, but is always in great danger.

"Many a person is beaten so badly that he dies of his injuries, and many more are deathly sick and are expected to die any day. You see, my dear, they plan their attacks on Sunday when they find all the people assembled in church. They beat them unmercifully and leave them there to die,



"Our priest has been chased for miles at the point of a rifle, and has been forbidden to enter our village. They damaged homes to such an extent that people cannot use them for living quarters any longer. Barns have also been destroyed. All the wheat, grain, and the season's crops have been dumped out, soaked with kerosene and burned. Pillows, quilts, and anything movable was removed and destroyed.

"There are mornings when we must arise extremely early so that your father and younger sisters might leave for their hiding places. As you know, my dear, the Poles attack and abuse young girls, and its more than I could bear to see my own daughters assaulted in such a manner.

"They do not harm the Polish people or the Jews, but it is the Ukrainian people alone who are the targets for their abuse. At times they beat a person so severely that he becomes unconscious. They drench him with water to revive him and then continue their brutal mistreatment.

"In the village of Koshlaky certain men have been lashed three hundred times in a beastly manner. The women of this same village have made some beautiful hand-made rugs which were torn into little strips.

"In our village we have been forbidden to wear our native costumes. Anyone seen wearing a hand embroidered blouse, has it stripped off with portions of flesh."

*(Allentown Morning Call, Sunday, January 14, 1934).*

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## 2.

### A UKRAINIAN WOMAN, IN A LETTER TO HER FAMILY IN AMERICA, DESCRIBES THE POLISH PUNITIVE EX- PEDITION IN THE VILLAGE OF KOSHLAKY, DISTRICT OF ZBARAZH.

October 15, 1930.

My dear sister: I am in receipt of your letter and two dollars. I thank you. I received also another letter, but the package I have not gotten to this day. What I wrote to you, my complaints against editors, was merely to safeguard myself because I feared post-office censors who might also happen to look into my letter as the police are now tracing down who had written to the papers about punitive expeditions and other abuses. Now, my dear sister, I will write you how the punitive Polish expedition was

carried out in our village. Before it came, there were already arrests. On September 26, the soldiers who are stationed in Hnylytsi, on the frontier, took young boys who belong to the "Luh," tortured them for a whole day, and arrested the president of the "Luh", Thomas Dumansky. On September 27, the same soldiers arrested Adolko Shevchuk, Roman Sikora, Stefan Ditzkun, Wasil Bakaluk, Hryts Vavruk, Michael Bomba, and tortured them the whole day. In the evening, at 7 o'clock, they set free Ditzkun and Bakaluk. As they were walking home, from under the bridge there leaped out Uhlans dressed in civilian clothes and gave them such a beating that they were found the following day in the field, helpless. Those who were not set free, were kept for two weeks and were whipped three times every day, each time 50 blows upon the naked body, and they were forced to sign police records against their will. Vavruk and Bomba were permitted to go home, but Shevchuk and Sikora and Dumansky were taken to Zbarazh. There the "starosta" (the supreme officer of the district — Ed.) read them the police records, which they denied, but he claimed they must be true as their signatures were appended to them. They answered that if he had been beaten up so he, too, would have signed. Then he released them. And on September 28, in the afternoon, at two o'clock, the soldiers left the village of Koshlaky. At four o'clock 140 gendarmes with their commissar arrived on wagons. Each wagon was spread over with carpets robbed from Ukrainian peasants, and each driver had bleeding wounds. They came to the gendarmes' post, where they broke into groups and went into the village. They had with them a list of all the Ukrainians, so as not to harm a Pole, destroy his home or ruin his farm. And thus whomever they met was asked whether he was a Ruthenian or a Pole. If he said he was a Pole, he was told, "Go home," and if he said that he was a Ukrainian, they would start whipping him and asking him again what he was, and they whipped him until he said that he was a Ruthenian. "You, son of a whore, you bandit, you want Ukraine? Come with us, and we'll build Ukraine!" Having caught in this way fifteen men, they would come together to a Ukrainian peasant and bid some of them to climb the roof of the hut, others, the roof of the barn, and still others to climb the stacks. They gave them no ladders, but beat them till they climbed. Then they ordered them to tear down the thatch with which the roofs are covered, and destroy it completely. The gendarmes entered the houses, broke into cupboards, carried out and threw in a heap all the Ukrainian costumes,

destroyed pictures with bayonets, tore the pillows and featherbeds, letting out the feathers, and poured over all this, beet soup or cabbage soup and whatever else they found. Going into the pantry, they mixed all kinds of grain together and mixed flour with ashes. Having thus satisfied their hearts, they called together all the members of the household and whipped them unmercifully, forcing them to shout, "Let Ukraine perish! This is Poland now!" Then they mocked, "Now you have already built Ukraine." After ordering those on the roofs to come down they whipped them for unroofing the building. One woman said that she had a toothache, so they laid her on the table and pulled out her teeth with tongs, saying that they were dentists... In the village of Koshlaky they destroyed 29 households, the cooperative dairy, and the cooperative store, in which they poured kerosene over all the goods. One night, I do not remember the date, the invading soldiers came into the village and attacked several homes. A man (the name deleted), was dragged out of a hut, thrown naked on the ground and whipped. Other members of the family escaped through a window. Paul Dumansky was caught, led back to the court, denuded and flogged, then, after dashing water over his body to revive him, they flogged him again, after which they rode their horses over him. They whipped Demydiuk's daughter. One cannot describe that night. What I wrote here is merely a part of what happened. It is impossible to describe everything, as in each household they did something else. Such is the Polish Republic.

(*Svoboda*, Jersey City, N. J.)

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### 3.

#### A SHORT REPORT OF A UKRAINIAN VICTIM OF POLISH ATROCITIES TO HIS FRIEND IN AMERICA.

Hnylychky, October 27. My Dear Friend: I am writing you to let you know that I am still alive, though my life is a sad one, as times are hard and besides, I carry on my body the marks of the Polish hand. It happened in our village on October 8. I am writing you on October 27, and I think that my injuries will take three more weeks to heal. In our village there are thirty people thus maltreated, among them: two brothers, Michael and Theodor Rudyk, Andrey Kharkavy, Pavlo Lubyansky, Theodore Vavrukh, Hryhory Osadechuk, Vasyi Brynyak, Ivan Halaburda,

Andrew Kluchka, Semen Kozub, Stefan Kozub, Mykhaylo Rubakha and Ivan Slobodian. Each of us was on the bench (whipped, — Ed.). We were beaten till our flesh fell off. After two weeks some could get up, though Brynyak struggles with death, but doctors say he will live. I am concluding, and greeting you...

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## 4.

A POLE DESCRIBES POLISH ATROCITIES AGAINST  
UKRAINIANS.

To "Surma Book and Music Co.", 103 Avenue A, New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen: I am enclosing a letter written to me by Poles from my own family. This is a document of our present times, valuable exactly for the reason that it was written by a Pole. I am sending it to you, hoping that you will give it publicity. Some of the passages of this letter were deleted for fear the police should fall upon the traces of its origin and upon its author, while censoring it (such things, too, are possible in our country). For the same reason I do not give my address, though I know that my name and address would add to its importance. I note in passing, also, that the pacification was carried out by the Uhlans regiment No. 6, stationed in the town of Zhovkva. Respectfully yours... (The above written in Ukrainian).

The Polish letter enclosed with the above reads:

Tartakow, October 4, 1930. My Dear — (the deleted word gives the family relation between the writer and the recipient). To be sure, you have been waiting for this letter too long, but this was due to events beyond our control, as I could not compose myself to write amidst the disorders which are going on in our region. You could have learned a great deal from papers, and I will describe you only what happened in our village. The Ukrainians were rumored to be preparing an uprising this month, but they prepared it very loudly and illuminated it by burning stacks of hay, throwing bombs into cooperatives, for instance, in Sokal, and so on. And therefore came the *Punitive Military Expedition*, which arranged maneuvers in the so-called "boxing of the ears." This is an army of the Bolshevik kind, in which you cannot distinguish between an officer and a common soldier, all carrying knouts, sticks and lances. They



made a surprise arrival at Tartakow last Friday morning and left on Saturday morning. It looked like war when they rode to the village from all sides, through gardens, meadows, and so on. They arrested every person who was in the street. They had a list of all Ruthenian "heroes," and among them were: Sanocki, Jachimowicz, Bojko, Wira, the new church-singer, and others. Before the expedition had time to reach their homes, they had already escaped to the forest (pine-forest), but the forest was surrounded and the escape failed. They were brought to their homes. On the way they were beaten so that no one could bear to look at all this. They started raids upon houses, breaking everything, destroying every Ruthenian printed word, and (two lines deleted). The soldiers ordered those arrested to march on their hands and knees, from the village to the city and to sing on the way "Poland is not dead yet!" (the Polish national anthem. — Ed.) and two lieutenants, keeping time, beat them with knouts, across the head, or wherever they happened to strike. They were so blue that you could not tell any of them by the face, only by their clothes. In this condition they were ordered to leap over lances and to perform various other drills, and to call all the time, "Long live Poland!" and the like. Sanocki was beaten most. His head was cut with the whip and he bled terribly. Nobody was permitted to ask the Uhlans for mercy; even if a Pole interceded for them, he, too, received 25 blows, as, for example, Misio Zborowski, who spoke in their defense, saying that they whipped without mercy. Then he, too, got his share, and also Franko Kunach, for concealing J. Wira, who afterwards escaped and did not come back till today. Franko was lashed with whips and, naturally, his wife wept more than he himself. The arrested students were taken to the office of (name deleted), and had to walk the entire distance on all fours, compelled to sing along the way. They were followed by soldiers and the intellectuals of Tartakow, the doctor, druggist, gendarmes, and others. Before (name of place deleted) a rest was made. Then the Ukrainians were asked, "What house is this?" "The Polish Home of Sanok," they replied. "Then bow your heads to the grounds!" Thus they were ordered to fall upon their knees several times before the home — (name deleted). To look at it one must have had a heart of stone, and in the office they started a new "ball". They were ordered to tear down all the Ukrainian signs. Uhlans brought in Ukrainians, and they were whipped with knouts. Nobody was allowed to come near the office, as a guard stood at the Kunachs', but, in spite of it one could hear the shrieks

as far as (a word deleted). Whoever was met on the way, was asked whether he was a Pole or a Ruthenian, and if he was a Ruthenian, they ordered him to lie down in the mud, to kiss the ground, and so on. And the Poles were led away to the post of gendarmes to find out if they truly were Poles, and thus also (a name deleted), while walking with the druggist, fell into the trap, but (a name deleted) identified them as Poles, and they were released at once. They paid no attention to pleadings, giving to women, for each hen taken, 10 groszy (about one cent — Ed.), for each cow, 30 groszy (about three cents — Ed.) and then women gave them fowl and cattle readily, gratis, imploring the soldiers to allow them to take the students to the city hall, promising to lock them up themselves, as the prisoners were not able to move. But though the livestock was taken, their request was not granted. Tomko Wira was ordered to dance a Cossack dance all the way to the city hall. After they were gone, women cried terribly for those who were locked up in the city hall, beaten, and without any chance of food reaching them.

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### 5.

#### A UKRAINIAN VICTIM OF POLISH ATROCITIES DESCRIBES TO HIS BROTHER IN CANADA THE POLISH PUNITIVE EXPEDITION.

South Bend, Indiana, November 18, 1930.

To the Editor of "Svoboda."

I received the following letter from my brother in Canada. It was written to him by another brother at home.

The letter follows:

My dear brother: I am sending you the news, sad news. I am writing you the particulars about our home. On October 3, there came to our house Polish Uhlans, as a punitive expedition. It was about 5 o'clock in the morning. They surrounded the house, and four Uhlans entered. They ordered, "Don't move one step!" and dragged us all from our beds. A true Last Judgment began. They dragged father into the barn and beat him so that he become unconscious. Afterwards they took Peter and beat him badly. And your wife, Mary, they dragged by her hair through the courtyard, toward the barn... She



defended herself as well as she was able and they could not take her to the barn. It took four of them to knock her to the ground. They choked her and beat her with whatever they laid their hands upon. Later they left her there lying unconscious. Till this day, October 16, she has not recovered. In her delirium she is calling you, "Where is my Philip?" Sister Helen was also beaten, but on October 15 she left her bed. Your wife was also whipped, because, they said, she had been a Pole and married a Ukrainian. They took her for the other sister. They twisted father's arms till they sprained. Father is recovering, and so is Peter. After the flogging they arrested father, Peter and me, took us to the communal office where they continued their persecution. Father and Peter were released in the evening, while I was detained until the noon of the next day and maltreated. Finally they released me, too. Such is the news from your home. Your wife, brother, seems to be insane. She does not sleep. Even should she recover, she might remain forever of unsound mind.

Come home as soon as possible. Your brother...

(*Svoboda*, Jersey City, N. J.)

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6.

SON DESCRIBES FATHER'S SUFFERING AT HANDS OF  
POLES DURING VISIT TO LAND OF HIS BIRTH.

28½ Martin St., Rochester, N. Y.

To the Editor of "*Svoboda*,"

83 Grand St.,

Jersey City, N. J.

Dear Editor:

I am writing to the friends of our Ukrainian Nation, telling of my father's experience in Galicia.

My father went to Europe on a visit. He was there about a month. Then the Polish police arrived and arrested him, I do not know why. He was arrested in Bukaczowce. They beat him and tied him to a horse and wagon, hit him and made him run to another town, beating him all the way. They took some weights off the scale and threw them on his neck which made him unconscious. Then they threw cold water on him and beat

him again. When he was bleeding they gave him some water to wash himself and straw for a towel to wipe himself. When he was washing himself he saw his citizen papers on the ground covered with mud and torn in small pieces. He took them and hid them in his shoes so that he could prove himself an American citizen later on. While the police were beating him the Jewish and Ukrainian people were crying for him because he was a good friend. They found a post-card picture of Taras Shevchenko and they told him to tear it and spit on it. He would not do it and again they started to beat him.

They took his tie and tore it and put it in his mouth and told him to walk down the street with it.

It was raining and a very cold day and he wore only trousers and shirt. A Ukrainian soldier said to him, "I am Ukrainian", and my father was so glad to hear that voice that he asked him for a glass of hot milk. The soldier gave him some and covered him with his uniform coat.

The Polish police came again and beat him and kicked him and told him to get up, they took him to his city police station. They searched him and his trunk and found our letters which we had written to him and took 100 dollars from him. He said he was an American citizen and they told him that he would never see America or his wife or children. He was in jail 65 days. There will be a case about him as he is on parol for 1,000 zloty for his freedom until his case begins.

I would appreciate it very much if you would print this article in the "Svoboda." I am eleven years old and I am not so good in writing and explaining this story, but I hope I have made myself clear.

Yours truly,

Michael Choroshy.

(Svoboda, Jersey City, N. J.)

*(These letters, with the exception of the first, were taken at random from a Ukrainian newspaper in America. Similar letters continue to come from the old country to their families and friends in America. They are being published in great numbers both in this and other Ukrainian publications. Collected together these personal experiences of writers would constitute a large volume.—Ed.)*

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## XII.

*TESTIMONY OF AN AMERICAN.*

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## ATROCITIES IN UKRAINE.

*Evidence of an American.*

## HUNDREDS OF VILLAGES RAIDED.

*(From our London Staff).*

Fleet Street, Friday.

Further remarkable evidence of the persecution of the Ukrainian population in Eastern Galicia was given yesterday by Mr. Jacob Makohin, an American citizen of Boston (Mass.), in an interview with a "Manchester Guardian" representative. Mr. Makohin spent several weeks in Lemberg and the neighborhood in September and October until, on October 24, he was asked to leave the country by the Polish authorities, in company with his friend, whose letter signed "A Recent Visitor" you published yesterday.

While in Lemberg Mr. Makohin heard accounts of what was happening in the surrounding villages from a Ukrainian doctor, who told him, incidentally, that as Polish doctors were refusing to attend the injured, Ukrainian medical students were going out at great risk to attend to the peasants' injuries. Mr. Makohin says that he did not at first believe that these stories of atrocities were true, but after an English doctor of his acquaintance had been imprisoned while making investigations he became interested and found out for himself.

"My inquiries," he said, "proved that the statements made by the correspondent of the 'Manchester Guardian' are not only unexaggerated, but do not tell half the truth." He has in his possession the written and signed statement of a large number of the sufferers, and he says that he is prepared to produce evidence in support of every one of the allegations that he makes.

*Beaten and Imprisoned.*

I can prove, he said, that large numbers of people, men, women, and children have been beaten, and that large numbers have been put in prison. I can prove that men have been shot down by Polish commissioned officers and that women have

been violated. I can prove that there has been a systematic attempt to destroy the economic, cultural, and religious Ukrainian centres. The value of the destroyed property belonging to the Ukrainians runs into millions of zlotys. The Ukrainian press has been ruthlessly suppressed. Up to October 24 several hundred villages had been raided by two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of field artillery, one regiment of cavalry sharpshooters, and by thousands of police imported from Poland. About 1,000 police from the police school of Mosty Wielkie were brought in to take part in these punitive expeditions.

The method of these raids was usually as follows. A squadron of 140 or 150 cavalry descends upon a village, usually early in the morning. The entrances and exits are occupied by the local police. Then the cavalry with drawn swords rush through the place. A list of the Ukrainian population has been prepared beforehand, and they are herded up together. The men are stripped naked and given from thirty to two or three hundred lashes. When this is done they compel them to shout "Long live Poland!" or "To hell with Ukraina!" and if they refuse they are beaten again. Search is made for weapons and anti-Government literature. The soldiers go into the farms and split open the bags of grain and so on, and after making a heap of everything set fire to it with kerosene. Agricultural machinery has been broken, and bayonets poked into roofs so that they look like sieves. When it is over the people are lined up, and the representatives of the village are told to sign a paper saying that the expedition has been humanely conducted and that all property taken away has been paid for. They are asked to state that they are not Ukrainians, and that they will vote for Pilsudski. In some villages the people were compelled to dress up in their Sunday best and accompany the cavalry outside, and to thank them for the expedition. Photographs were taken of this scene to convince the outside world that the Ukrainians are not being persecuted.

#### *No Means of Redress.*

Mr. Makohin, finding that there was no medical attention for the sufferers, established a private hospital at his own expense in Lemberg. He says that around Lemberg there are at least fifty people who had been so badly beaten that they could not be moved. During the war, he says, this territory suffered terribly, and there were three years of civil war afterwards, but never during all this time did the population suffer as they do now under this



so-called "pacification." The German minorities have the German Government behind them if they are ill-treated, but Ukrainians have no means of obtaining redress.

Talking of the elections, he said that in Lemberg 18,000 people were told to bring documents to a special commission to prove that they were citizens. That commission worked one hour a day for three days. It was, of course, impossible for these people to prove their right to vote under these circumstances. It was, in fact, a measure of disfranchisement. Large numbers of men, he said, are living in the woods in Galicia, afraid to return to their homes.

Mr. Makohin intends to publish a book containing the detailed evidence for his statements and a discussion of the Ukrainian question. He has in his possession many photographs of people who have been beaten and of the destruction wrought in farms and houses.

*(Manchester Guardian, November 22, 1930).*

*(A true orgy of denunciation, abuse and slander started in the Polish press against Mr. Makohin when his interview with the Manchester Guardian became known.—Ed.)*

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### XIII.

#### THE TESTIMONY OF THE UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS.

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#### UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD AGAINST POLISH PERSECUTIONS.

#### TO THE SCOUTS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

The Ukrainian Scouts Headquarters herewith enters a loud protest against the unheard-of terrorism and persecution of the Ukrainian youth, especially of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts, by the Polish government, in the Western Ukraine, which is now occupied by Poland.

The Boy Scout Association has existed for 19 years and worked successfully for the education and the advancement of

civilization and morale among the young generation as well as toward the promoting of brotherly relations with the Boy Scouts of other countries. (It is not our fault that we have not been recognized by the Boy Scouts International Bureau). The proof of the successful work of our scouting is the fact that there are more than 5,000 obedient and disciplined boy and girl scouts, grouped into more than 200 troops in all the towns and larger villages of the Western Ukraine; a great number of courses, lectures, excursions and camps; work-shops and co-operative undertakings; three newspapers; own publishing plant, and many other undertakings of the scouts.

In Central Ukraine the Bolshevik government suppressed with terrorism and violence all scout movement, and during the last few years successful scout work was possible only in the Western Ukraine.

But when the Western Ukraine was occupied by Poland, there began here, too, a martyrdom of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts Association.

Although it was quite legal and its work concerned scouting exclusively, the Polish government and society, having the false opinion that everything which does not bear the Polish national character must be against the state, began to exterminate without discrimination all the Ukrainian cultural institutions and economic undertakings, which have nothing in common with political or military organizations.

The difficulties put in the way of the Ukrainian social development in all its branches during the first days of the Polish occupation grew daily and culminated in an unrestrained and mad terrorism during the last days of September of this year. The systematic closing of Ukrainian schools, which had existed with success for many years, became a daily occurrence, as also the demolishing and breaking up of Ukrainian reading-rooms, libraries, museums, art exhibitions, and many other purely cultural institutions; robbing and completely ruining Ukrainian cooperative shops, stores, etc.; continual raids by the police and arrests without any reason; flogging of harmless Ukrainian citizens; barbarous killing of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and simple peasants, without any trial, by the police or punitive military expeditions.

Polish officials do not abstain even from sacrilege: they exhume and scatter the bones of Ukrainian soldiers who died on the battle-field, ten years ago.



The Polish people "assist" the government by setting on fire Ukrainian private and public possessions; by throwing bombs into the lodgings of eminent Ukrainians, into schools and other institutions; by shooting from behind fences at Ukrainians, or, for the least cause, by setting the police on them with false denunciation. Even the Polish Boy Scouts are so fanatic and nationally intolerant that they fully share and approve of the policy and tactics of the Poles against the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian Scouting which, like the scout organizations of other countries, has on its program patriotism and national education of the youth, became odious to the Polish government and society, hence the attack on the Ukrainian youth.

It was marked by arrests, day and night, for belonging to the legally organized scout organization; cruel by tortures of those arrested in ill-famed Polish prisons; confiscating of quite legal newspapers, books, uniforms, emblems, etc., belonging to the scouts; destroying of clubrooms, libraries, shops, of all their correspondence and all books and archives of the Headquarters in Lviv and of the individual troops — all with the aim of ruining completely the Ukrainian Boy Scouts.

Finally, on September 26, 1930, the Ukrainian Boy Scouts were officially disbanded by the Polish government. Since then no scout work is permitted, all scout clubrooms are closed and the leaders arrested. Whoever wears the scout emblem is arrested by the police or beaten in the street in such a manner that he has to be conveyed to the hospital instead of to the prison. Such things are the order of the day in a "civilized", "European" state.

At first the persecutions were carried out under the pretext of being aimed at the Ukrainian revolutionary organizations, but later the Polish government began to persecute the Ukrainian Boy Scouts quite openly because they were scouts and Ukrainians.

Because of these persecutions many members of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts Association were obliged to flee from Poland. To continue to be in touch among themselves and with the Boy Scouts in their own country, they organized the Association of Ukrainian Emigrant Scouts, with the principal Ukrainian Scouts Headquarters at Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Unable to save our organization by other means, we address this appeal to the whole civilized world and all the scouts to help us morally and to support us in the hard moment of the scout work which we do for the good of our country and all humanity.

As the Polish government has deprived us of all possibility to enter a protest against the violence in our own country, the

Ukrainian Boy Scouts Headquarters abroad does so in the name of all the Ukrainian scouts at home and abroad.

Spread our protest by word of mouth and in writing!

Address yourselves to influential persons in your government!

Help us!

Prove that the international fraternity of scouts is not an empty phrase, but a real, active power that unites nations and leads them to *a great mutual goal!*

FOR THE UKRAINIAN SCOUTS HEADQUARTERS:

Ing. E. Kulchytsky, President;

D. Kozitsky, Secretary;

(Seal)

Praha II., Stud. domov.

Prague, October, 1930.

*(The appeal to the public opinion of the world is a direct consequence of the inability of the organization to find redress in Polish administration, courts or parliament. So far no public response to this appeal is known to the Editor.)*

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#### XIV.

#### TESTIMONY OF A BISHOP.

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#### BISHOP VISITS REGION AFFECTED BY POLISH ATROCITIES.

Rev. Michael Martyniuk, Pastor of the Ukrainian-Catholic church in North Dakota, received from Rev. Yaroslav Chemerynsky, chaplain of the Right Reverend Ivan Buchko, a bishop of the Ukrainian-Catholic church in Galicia, the following letter:

Lviv, October 22, 1930.

Dear Friend:

Perhaps it is well that you are not here, for what is happening in our country now is worse than anything that occurred during the World War. I will bring you briefly the terrible news from our hapless land that you may, if possible, inform all Ukrainian people in America about it, so they may know the misfortune that

has befallen our people and our land. I, as an eye-witness, saw these things when I accompanied the Right Reverend Bishop Ivan during his recent visiting tour in the villages raided by the Polish punitive expeditions which had been inaugurated allegedly for the purpose of pacifying the country in view of the acts of sabotage but were in fact instituted to terrorize Ukrainian voters in order to break the united front of Ukrainians and to strengthen, by means of terror, the Polish government party.

What our people now undergo surpasses by far the sufferings of Calvary. We visited villages of the districts of Berezhany, Pidhaytsi and Tarnopol. In the town of Berezhany the Poles have ruined the property of the Very Rev. Eusebius Bachynsky; the Ukrainian institution that boards poor students; the Ukrainian club "Besida" (Discourse); the union of Ukrainian co-operatives; the Ukrainian association "Spilka" (Partnership); the law offices of the Ukrainian lawyers Bemko and Zakhidny; as well as the homes of various Ukrainian citizens (of the catechist Rev. Dubitsky, of Judge Korduba, of the Borodaykos, and others).

As a testimony of this destruction, we saw broken icons, tables, chairs, sofas with upholstering torn off, pillows emptied of feathers, walls smeared with fruit jams, pianos with keys and strings torn out, in the pantries various food supplies mixed and soaked with kerosene, — houses without windows, ovens or floors.

Such things we saw in the places which have administrative officers. And what happened in villages? Can you imagine? And how they flogged! Pupils and teachers alike!

The same was going on in the town of Pidhaytsi. Here, I must add, the atrocities were perpetrated by a police punitive expedition, one thousand men strong, enforced by the eighth regiment of Uhlans from Terebovla, the sixth regiment from Stanyslaviv and the fourteenth regiment from Lviv (Lemberg).

In the town of Berezhany the police even interfered with our tour, forbidding taxis and coaches to drive us so that we had to get to the station, several miles away, on foot.

In the town of Pidhaytsi, they brutally beat Rev. Blozovsky, the former deputy Yavorsky, the district organizer Danchuk and many other citizens, not even sparing men over 80 years of age. They were all tortured in the city hall and then, handcuffed, were thrown into a cellar, there to regain consciousness. At the same time all the properties of Ukrainian societies, libraries (the books being torn in twain crosswise), other institutions and private citizens were being demolished. I would never have

believed such things possible had I not seen them with my own eyes.

In the village of Verbiv, Rev. Sodomora was flogged so brutally that he became mentally deranged. His wife Irene and daughter Mary were also badly beaten. Their home is a ruin. The teacher Romankiv, wounded with bayonets and handcuffed, was dressed with the cap and sash of the Ukrainian sporting society "Sokil" (Falcon) and dragged through the village by the police who shouted mockingly, "Now we know whom we beat. We see that you are a Ukrainian!"

The tin roof of the cooperative store was pierced with bayonets, a part of it was torn off, and the interior of the store demolished. The police unroofed the thatched houses of leading villagers and did them other damage.

In the village of Holhoche, they flogged Rev. Kostiuk three times and crushed his head with a rifle butt.

His wife, who lay in confinement, was dragged out of bed allegedly for the purpose of search. Then, before her very eyes, their home was demolished. Sick with childbed fever she is now struggling with death. Equal tragedies were the fate of the villagers. Here the police again stopped us, attempting to prevent the Bishop from communicating with his flock. Only on the Bishop's firm stand did they let him proceed.

In the village of Morenivka, the priest Rev. Kmytsykevich was spared but the village appears as if struck by a hurricane. Literally, every house is unroofed; those that were covered with straw stand with thatches torn away; tin roofs were punctured so many times that they look like sieves; shingled roofs were split; terra-cotta roofs were beaten into shards. The houses stand without windows, doors, or ovens — a veritable ruin.

The populace hides in forests, as in the times of Tartar invasions. The village has no water, for the police drained cesspools into the wells and threw into them feathers from pillows and featherbeds. All the property was robbed, stacks of grain scattered asunder and trodden into a litter. Grain that had been already threshed was soaked with kerosene. Four girls had been ravished. Hogs and cattle were seized, hens shot.

In the village of Zarvanytsya, Rev. Vasyl Holovinsky was given two hundred blows with a cudgel. He coughs blood, a living corpse. His wife, an expectant mother, was morally tortured; for instance, before her very eyes a Ukrainian by the name of Hopey was made to jump from a roof to the ground, then to play a violin and dance while they whipped him. Rev. Holovinsky



was tortured by the policeman No. 662 of the 8th regiment of infantry. The torturers were led by the police commissioner Hrabowski of Lviv (Lemberg). The Bishop's residence was destroyed.

In the village of Vyshnivchyk, Rev. Chopiy was slightly beaten, but his wife was flogged unmercifully. Their daughter Lydia was beaten so badly that a bone in her arm was broken. The Polish and Jewish physicians of the vicinity, by order of the authorities, refused to give medical aid to Ukrainian people. In the hospital at Pidhaytsi the flogged and wounded are told by Sisters of Mercy that this is a Polish vengeance for the year of 1918. The Right Rev. Ivan took Lydia Chopiy in his wagon to a physician in the city of Tarnopol.

In the village of Bohatkiivtsi, Rev. Eugene Mandziy was tortured in a horrible manner. He bears eighteen cuts made with bayonets. A gendarme jumped on his chest and stamped upon him with his booted feet. They scalded him with boiling milk, and pinning him under a heavy chest, abandoned him. Not one object in his house was left intact. Here vandalism reached its peak. The crucifixes were smashed. The icons were broken, the pictures of Jesus and Mary were pierced with bayonets. There is not one piece of furniture or utensil left undamaged. The house is littered with broken pieces of a sewing machine, phonograph, zither, violin, guitar, wall clock, kitchen utensils, and so on. Not one whole book was left; even birth records of the parish were not spared. All this was mixed with ashes, soot, broken glass, shards, grain, flour, grits, sheaves, dung and other things.

Yakymets, a student of theology, was also wounded with bayonets. From the home of Rev. Mandziy many articles such as underwear, clothing, a lady's gold watch were stolen by the police. As evidence of their robbery, a suit of underwear of Rev. Mandziy was found after they dropped it at the other end of the village. Ivanna, an 11 year-old daughter of Rev. Mandziy, was also brutally beaten. In a similar manner leading peasants of the village were robbed and brought to ruin. Not even the church was spared, for the police searched the church and desecrated the banners, especially those bearing Ukrainian embroideries. The principal of the local school, Mr. Ryzhevsky, was also flogged.

In the village of Kutkiivtsi, Rev. Michael Kozoriz was mishandled, the village destroyed. Among other things the police



smashed the musical instruments of the local reading circle "Prosvita" (Enlightenment).

The village of Denysiv met a similar fate. Even old people were not spared. Young people took shelter in the woods.

The villages are deserted. The wind blows through empty homes, which were left without windows, doors or furniture. The wind moans a cruel song which is hearkened to by all the Ukrainian people.

During our entire trip, which lasted a week, we dined only once, for peasantry had no food to offer us. The same despair and desolation were met on our tour through the districts of Bibrka, Rohatyn, Skole, Sokal, Zbarazh (the villages of Shyly and Dobromirka of this district suffered greatly) and Lviv (Lemberg). This is a trail of ruin, too horrible to register.

"Narodna Lichnytsya" (People's Hospital) at Lviv (Lemberg) is overcrowded with wounded and those suffering from broken ribs and strained muscles.

When attacking a village the police and Uhlans beat the people with rifle butts and then proceed to carry out the punitive expedition, the victims being persons enumerated in lists furnished by the head officer of the district. After these have been flogged, wholesale marauding and revelry starts which ends in wild cries for help and implorations of ravished girls. In the village of Chyzhykiv, in one hut mother and daughter were violated at the same time and the daughter went out of her mind. Many of the tortured have died, but it is difficult to register all this, since either the mail is not delivered or the people are so terrorized that they fear to give the facts of atrocities. Many people were also shot, as for instance in the villages of Hermaniv, Koniukhy, and others.

It was the Right Rev. Ivan's great wish to give the people a word of consolation. He hastened to the homes of the beaten, and in the churches, where the people assembled, he cheered them with his comforting words and reminded them of the sufferings of Christ the Savior. He said, "We follow Christ to Calvary, after which comes the Resurrection. A people that suffers in temporal life will be here rewarded, as in the hereafter there are no peoples, only individual souls. And God's punishment must reach those who torture Catholic clergy."

Verily, it is well that in this maltreatment there was no discrimination between the flocks and their shepherds. Even the Metropolitan's Pastoral Letter was confiscated, for it told the Polish government unpleasant truths.

Polish newspapers set their people against us and stir up Polish youth. Our institutions, one after another, are bombed: our parish houses and homes are in flames; shattered are the window-panes in our institutions at Lviv (Lemberg); and the Polish clergy, looking at murders, laugh at the tortured priests, their wives, and parishioners (as was the case in the village of Vyshnivchyk).

I implore you to publish these facts to the world, and if you have friends in American papers, submit to them a translation of this. I assume full responsibility for everything said in this letter, as I have no fear, neither has the Bishop.

I was already searched twice after my returns from tours. They evidently intended to confiscate my notes, but failed. Write me, please, everything of interest. In my parish at Lviv (Lemberg) they have blown up our elementary school of Prince Leo. Would it be possible to raise funds in America to rebuild it? This would strengthen the spirit of our people at Lviv.

*(The Bishop's letter was first published in two Ukrainian newspapers in America. The bishop, when questioned about it by newspaper men, confirmed every statement in the letter and declared his willingness to come, if necessary, before the court and repeat under oath every statement made in the letter. It soon came to be quoted extensively as uncontrovertible evidence of the facts of Polish atrocities in Ukraine. Polish state officials and newspapers referred to this letter with extreme hatred, but were unable to attack the author in their usual manner, perhaps not so much because of his high position in the Catholic Church as because of the fact that the Bishop had sent his findings to his friends in America, thus placing himself under the protection of international public opinion.—Ed.)*

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## XV.

*TESTIMONY OF AN AMERICAN VICTIM OF POLISH  
ATROCITIES.*

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**STATE DEPARTMENT TO INVESTIGATE  
BEATING OF AMERICAN.**

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30. (AP). — State Department officials today said, a “very careful” investigation had been ordered by the Embassy at Warsaw into the case of Justin Fedoryshyn, American citizen of Ukrainian origin, who was reported to have been beaten by Polish soldiers. Officials said, if charges against the Polish authorities were found to be correct, there would be the possibility of a protest by this government. The investigation will be conducted by John Wiley, American Charge d’Affairs at Warsaw.

Fedoryshyn has a home in Detroit. He was born in 1885 at Sernyky, Poland, and naturalized in Detroit 1928. Reports from the United States Charge at Warsaw said that at the time the beating was reported he was visiting his father, Thomas Fedoryshyn, in East Galicia.

*(New York Herald Tribune, October 21, 1930).*

**THE VICTIM DESCRIBES HIS EXPERIENCES.**

The editors of “Svoboda” (Liberty) had the opportunity of seeing Mr. Justin Fedoryshyn, a victim of Polish brutalities, who just arrived in this country.

Mr. Justin Fedoryshyn, an American citizen, was born in the village of Sernyky, in the district of Bibrka, in Galicia, and has his permanent residence in Detroit, Michigan.

He visited his native village, arriving there on June the fourth. On his arrival in the village, Fedoryshyn, in accordance with the Polish law, reported himself to the authorities, that is to the officers of the village and the district, furnishing two photographs, etc. Having stayed six weeks in the village of his birth, he went to Velyky Lubyn near Lviv to take treatment for rheumatism of his leg, this illness preventing him from work and from

participation in public life. The only public activity in which he had taken part was to lend a helping hand at flooring the reading room in his native village. In Velyky Lubyn he remained from August 15 till the end of September, when he returned to his native village.

In his absence, the Polish state police had raided his father's house. They broke open a closet with their bayonets and took out of it several numbers of "Chervona Kalyna," a publication which is permitted by the Polish censorship and which is sold publicly on stands and in bookstores. During his absence from his native village, a search was also made in the house of Volodymyr Vasylyuk, who had just graduated from a commercial school. Vasylyuk was arrested. During the search the police mixed his family's grain with hay and did other spiteful damage.

About a week after Fedoryshyn's return to his native village, there were burnt in a neighboring village three stacks of hay. Outside of this no incidents of sabotage were heard of.

On Thursday, October 9, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, 130 Uhlans rode into the village. The soldiers surrounded the village, allowing people only to enter the village. Whoever tried to leave the village was ordered back under the force of blows delivered with flail-swingles, detached from the flails. The Uhlans were billeted in the village. The officers, composed of the captain, lieutenant and platoon leaders, arrived at the village office and at once despatched soldiers in all directions into the village to round up peasants. Each soldier had a list of those to be arrested.

Two soldiers, armed with rifles and revolvers, arrested Fedoryshyn. They asked him if his name was Fedoryshyn. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, he was ordered to follow them. When Fedoryshyn told them that he was an American citizen, the soldiers showered him with rude abuses, of the kind with which the Polish soldiers usually addressed Ukrainian peasants, and again ordered him to follow. Fedoryshyn was brought into the courtyard of a peasant and thrown into a pigsty. In this pigsty there already were 9 peasants. Soon three more were brought so that altogether there were 13 men.

A door joined the pigsty and the barn. Through this door one man after another was called to enter the barn. Those detained in the pigsty heard, through the walls, orders of the commandant given in Polish, "Lie down! Get up! Lie down!" They heard the thumps of the blows and the groans of the peasants.



Fedoryshyn was the fifth to be called. He entered the barn. In the barn there stood eight soldiers, at the doors four others kept guard. In a corner sat the lieutenant. Fedoryshyn addressed him, asking him what was wanted of him, and handed him his American passport. The lieutenant looked at the passport and said in Polish, "Oh, then you are an American! Well, then, we'll whip you in an American fashion!"

Three soldiers grabbed Fedoryshyn, tied his legs with a rope, grasped him by the arms, pulled down his pants and laid him down on a barrel prepared by them. Then they gagged him with a rag and began to flog him with flail-swingles. Three soldiers flogged him, counting as they did it, "One-two-three!" — just as is the custom when three persons thresh grain. The commandant would call to the soldiers, "Harder, harder!"

After some time Fedoryshyn swooned. When he came to, he found himself drenched with cold water. The soldiers again laid him on the barrel and started to flog him anew. The commandant called, "Give him another hundred lashes!"

Fedoryshyn again swooned. He again regained consciousness, and again was drenched with cold water which a soldier scooped up out of a ready barrel with a pail. He was thus flogged three times.

After third flogging Fedoryshyn found himself in the cellar of a Jewish grocer, where were also other peasants who had been flogged. There they were kept till 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the following day. They all suffered horribly from torture, hunger and thirst. The families of the victims brought them food and water, but the soldiers who stood guard, drove them away, not allowing anybody to approach the cellar.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of October 10, the lieutenant told them they were released. Eight of them rose and leaning on sticks, shuffled home. Five could not rise by their own strength and were taken home on wagons.

Coming back to his family's home, Fedoryshyn lay down in bed and did not rise for four days, being not only unable to rise but also to turn about. On Sunday, October 12, Fedoryshyn succeeded in hiring a peasant to ride to Bibrka to fetch a doctor, but all the doctors refused to go, for they feared to be cited as witnesses. On October 14, all those who had been flogged were summoned to court, where a criminal judge took a deposition from each. Two of them remained in the hospital at Bibrka, Fedoryshyn hiring a peasant to aid him in reaching Warsaw.



On October 15, Fedoryshyn applied to the American consul at Warsaw. Here two American doctors examined him and described his injuries. Here he swore out an affidavit of the flogging. From here he was sent to the American Embassy, where he was ordered to take a hotel room and to phone the Embassy in case of further trouble. He took up his abode in the hotel.

On October 17, the secretary of the Embassy told Fedoryshyn that he would go with him to his native village. They started from Warsaw on October 17. On October 18 they arrived at Lviv, where they were awaited by an automobile. They started at once from Lviv for Bibrka. Arriving there, they stopped before the office of the "starosta" (supreme district officer). The secretary of the Embassy entered the office with Fedoryshyn's documents, passport and the certificate of registration. After a half hour's conversation they left for the native village. In the village, the Secretary told Fedoryshyn to get ready for departure from the village within an hour, and he himself went to the mayor to ask whether Fedoryshyn had properly reported himself with the officers of the village and shown his passport.

On October 18, the Secretary of Embassy accompanied Fedoryshyn back to Lviv and sent him out by train to the seaport. From Berlin Fedoryshyn was to send him a postal card as sign that he had passed the Polish frontier without further trouble from the Polish government. He was ordered to appear at the Department of State at Washington.

Fedoryshyn is suing Poland for injury.

(*Svoboda*, Ukrainian daily, Jersey City, New Jersey,  
November 11, 1930 \*).

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\*) Soon after Mr. Fedoryshyn's visit at the American Embassy at Warsaw the reports reached the Polish press that the State Department at Washington had ordered a "very careful" investigation into Mr. Fedoryshyn's case. The Polish press started at once a campaign of slander against Mr. Fedoryshyn. "*Gazeta Poranna*," of Lviv, wrote under the caption: **A SABOTAGIST MAKES USE OF DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION! A MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION HIDES IN AMERICAN EMBASSY!**"

*Polish newspapers in America were more careful in repeating the charge.—Ed.*

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## XVI.

*TESTIMONY OF A CANADIAN WHO VISITED THE LAND  
OF TERROR.***FORMER WINNIPEG PHYSICIAN TELLS OF POLISH  
TERRORISM.**

*Dr. W. F. Dey Held In Jail at Lemberg and Accused of Being Spy.*

"It's apparently dangerous to be in Poland even if they think you are a newspaperman."

Dr. W. F. Dey, former Winnipeg physician, who has now a practice in Carlsbad, famous European Spa, was recalling his experiences in Poland last October when he was given the third degree for nearly 24 hours by the Polish political police. He is in Winnipeg on a visit.

"While I was in jail in Lemberg, Poland, undergoing a cross-examination by the police, big headlines in the Polish newspapers all over the country were accusing me, among other things, of being a paid spy of a Ukrainian revolutionary party, a German agent, a Russian-Canadian sent over to foment trouble, and a correspondent of "The Canadian Times," whatever that is."

*Drove Through Poland.*

"Why was I arrested?" Here Dr. Dey smiled and told a story of international complications that read like a chapter from E. Philips Oppenheim.

The season being over at Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia, early in October last year, Dr. Dey decided to motor with some friends to Paris for a holiday by way of a round-about route through Central Europe.

Stopping at Lemberg, in Poland, Dr. Dey heard for the first time of the terrorism which the Poles were said to have visited upon the Ukrainian citizens in Eastern Galicia, now part of Poland.

He was told that Polish physicians were refusing to render first aid to the victims of the attacks in 700 Ukrainian villages and that Ukrainian doctors were prevented from coming to their assistance. On October 20, he visited a Ukrainian village near Lemberg to see things for himself.

*Ukrainians Badly Beaten.*

Amazed at what he had seen, he visited two other Ukrainian villages which had been attacked on the following day. In the three villages, he saw some 39 Ukrainian men who had been so badly beaten with canes that they required medical treatment. Eight of the men were crippled and had to be carried away on stretchers. Ukrainian cooperative stores and reading rooms had been ransacked and their contents destroyed.

"This widespread terrorism," Dr. Dey declared, "was part of the Polish plan to check efforts of Ukrainian citizens of Poland to retain their national identity."

While in the last of the three villages which he visited, Dr. Dey was confronted by a Polish political officer, who, at the point of a gun, conducted him and the party he was with to Lemberg, and prison.

*Ordered to Leave.*

"We were each kept in a separate room. From 8 p. m. to 1 a. m. the police questioned me closely, trying to get me to admit I was a newspaper correspondent or at least some sort of paid agent. I was refused a request to see the British consul.

"The examination continued in the morning. Every half hour some one would come in with a different array of questions, trying to get me to confess that I was something I wasn't.

"My friends finally traced me through the car that stood outside the jail. The British consul was told of my predicament and he advised me to allow the police to go ahead with their examination."

After much difficulty Dr. Dey got back his passport which had been taken from him. He found that his permission to stay in Poland had been cancelled. He was ordered to leave Poland by next day, and he left the country by train crossing over to Czernowitch, Rumania.

*Says Promises Broken.*

Great Britain has a responsibility in seeing that the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia are spared from terrorism, Dr. Dey said. By the Treaty of Versailles, this part of Austria was handed to Poland under a mandate. In 1923 Poland urged the council of ambassadors, which included Great Britain, to make Galicia a

permanent part of the Polish Republic. On the promise that Galicia would be given autonomy, the request was granted.

"Poland has broken every promise made at that time," Dr. Dey said today.

He expects to return to Czechoslovakia in three weeks, but he plans to avoid Poland.

(*Winnipeg Tribune*, January 8, 1931).

(*The Free Press*, of *Winnipeg, Man.*, when publishing an interview with Dr. W. F. Dey, on December 24, 1930, said,

"Dr. Dey is a well known figure in the city. Following the war he acted as neurologist for the Canadian army and for the pension board."

*The "Slowo Polskie" (The Polish Word), the Polish daily of Lviv, commented on Dr. Dey's arrest:*

"To travel around villages with the purpose of undermining the dignity of the governmental authorities and to set up mock 'trials' against the government, — this is the height of insolence. Such insolence can be received neither by the authorities nor by the Ruthenian population, who already have enough of these firebrands."

"Ruthenians" (Ukrainians) were warned by this Polish chauvinistic paper to show no patience with foreign correspondents. The phrase about firebrands is a veiled threat that whosoever gives information to foreign correspondents will be treated as an incendiary.

The "*Gazeta Poranna*," another Polish paper, wrote:

"We Poles are polite and hospitable, but our sin is exaggeration. We fete those to whom we should say, 'Get out of here and go to the devil!'"

By these and similar comments the Polish press gave unequivocally to understand what constitutes a good foreign correspondent: he comes into the country, is feted by government officials or their friends, is taken by them on a pleasure trip across the country, is received at a palace, in short, enjoys the elaborate hospitality of a race prone to exaggeration. For this he is expected to behave, that is, never to ask questions which might embarrass the government and to write a "nice" report. The attitude of the Polish government and press towards Mr. Negley Farson is an illustration to the point. — Ed.)

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## XVII.

*TESTIMONY OF MR. NEGLEY FARSON, OF THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.*

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**ARREST OF THE CORRESPONDENT TAKING SERIOUSLY  
THE INVITATION OF THE POLISH AMBASSADOR AND  
SEEING UKRAINE FOR HIMSELF.**

On November 15, the Chicago Daily News and the Buffalo Evening News reported that Mr. Negley Farson, their European correspondent, had been arrested in a village near Lviv. After investigation, Mr. Farson was released. The police suspected Mr. Farson of having secured photographs showing the results of punitive operations by the Polish cavalry.

Soon reports appeared in the two newspapers describing the correspondent's experiences with the Polish authorities, experiences, which, as he himself puts it, mock Sherlock Holmes and the best Edgar Wallace thrillers.

He went to Poland, after he had read the invitation of Mr. Tytus Filipowicz, the Polish ambassador to the United States, to all the correspondents of American newspapers to come to Eastern Poland and to see for themselves that all the charges of Polish atrocities are not true and that the "Southeastern Poland" enjoys peace.

When Polish diplomats in Berlin learned that Mr. Farson was bound for the Ukraine, they assured him that every courtesy would be extended to him by the Polish government. They hastened to telephone and told him he must be sure to see the voyvoda of Lviv the minute he arrives in Galicia. He was to meet the president of Poland at a brilliant palace reception. It looked as if the Polish ambassador to the United States had not promised in vain that his government would offer all facilities to American correspondents who would like to acquaint themselves with the "local situation in Southeastern Poland."

As a result of his, as he calls it, naive acceptance of the invitation, this American newspaper man has been given a taste of terrorism which the Ukrainians are forced to taste every



day. But invited to meet the president of Poland at a brilliant palace reception, — he writes, he was taken into custody by the police in a remote village of far-off Galicia the next morning, was grilled from 4 o'clock in the afternoon until 10 at night by nervous police officers. He was subjected to every question the worried officials could think of. At 10 o'clock they abandoned the wheedling and let him go, conscious of his great luck of not being a Polish citizen. Since then, however, he was dogged on by men and women spies as "adhesive as man's own shadow." He had an experience of dining in the presence of smart officers of a crack cavalry regiment who that very morning had been accused by Ukrainian peasants to have flogged severely many peasants, one of them to death. Coming out of the restaurant, he found sitting outside the restaurant door an ugly girl whom he had met in the police barracks.

Next morning, before he was out of bed, a furtive, unshaven figure slouched into his room and asked what he thought of the village of Gaje, which he had visited and where he had been arrested. And had the peasants told him everything? Suspecting a Polish provocateur, Mr. Farson told him it was none of his business. Then the intruder tried to pass for a Ukrainian who, having been refused a visa to leave Poland, wanted to go to America in an illegal way.

Having rid himself of this pest, Mr. Farson was called on a telephone. A voice in broken English asked him if he wanted an interpreter. "I speak fine English," the voice said.

Mr. Farson and Mr. Frederic Voight, the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, who arrived from Warsaw and came to see Mr. Farson at his hotel, found in the hotel lobby five spies waiting for them. "They looked so hungry about midnight that we almost asked them to have some supper."

Mr. Farson mentioned all these things merely to show that no free inquiry in Galicia by foreign correspondents is possible. The correspondent who comes to Poland to see for himself is expected to see the things which are offered and prepared for him by the Polish government. He may speak to Polish police, gendarmes, spies and provocateurs undisturbed; it is absurd, however, even to claim that one may freely talk with any of the persecuted Ukrainians.

Not only the Polish government but even Polish newspapers betrayed nervousness at the very thought that foreign correspondents come to Poland to investigate. "I am sorry to admit,"—Mr.

Farson writes, — "that even neutral foreigners in Warsaw said, 'You had better see the voyvode first.' At the same time, strange comments began to appear in the Warsaw papers saying that foreign correspondents are in the town — some correspondents have been 'trying to find things to say against our country. As such we should merely get rid of them.'"

"Anything like the free investigation which the Polish Ambassador at Washington asked American correspondents to come and make in East Galicia", Mr. Farson states, "is an absolute impossibility, owing to the terrified villagers and spy system, which scares the peasants into silence."

And Mr. Farson had to come out to the town of Beuthen in Germany in order to feel sure that his report got through the web of the Polish police supervision.

Mr. Farson's painful experiences, however, were worth while. He was of the few foreign correspondents who ventured into Ukrainian villages to find the facts first-hand. The peasants of the village of Haje (in Polish Gaje) told him of Polish soldiers wrecking the interior of their cooperative store and then forcing them under threats of punishment to quickly restore it to its original order; of the soldiers requisitioning whatever food they wanted without payment; and after that beating 18 youths. The peasants said that Polish soldiers had killed the peasant by the name of Tiutko. They had beaten him until he turned black. The man died on October 18, 1930, after a brutal beating by a Polish cavalry regiment.

Mr. Farson was the first foreign correspondent to whom Polish officials admitted the death of Ukrainian peasants beaten by the Poles.

While he was under arrest, the authorities, aware he had found the true story as to the death of Tiutko, admitted to him the death, but said it was "from heart failure." Sheptytsky, the archbishop of the Ukrainian Uniate church, in his conversation with Mr. Farson, when told that the Polish authorities had blamed heart trouble for Tiutko's death, remarked with a grim smile, pointing to his black comb lying on the table, "They beat him until he was the color of that."

He has also the evidence that another person died after a beating in a nearby district.

In the Ukrainian hospital improvised within the precincts of the Metropolitan's churchyard at Lviv, Mr. Farson saw 11 Uk-

rainian peasants, parts of whose bodies had been literally hammered to a pulp. The victims have been lying there for five weeks.

There he obtained stories of peasants being pursued like wild animals before the cavalry — floggings of 100 to 200 blows, during which the victim fainted and was revived by being dashed with cold water and flogged again. He saw a priest who declared that his wife and two daughters were beaten.

Archbishop Sheptytsky said that he had conclusive evidence that at least three peasants had died as a result of floggings. He estimated that at least 1000 Ukrainians were in jails and that in addition to the 11 brutally beaten victims lying under the protection of his church, there were some 50 patients coming to have their wounds dressed, and hundreds of others in the villages were unable to get there, many lying in their own cottages without proper medical treatment.

Polish soldiery virtually ruined the great business enterprise of the Ukrainian cooperatives, either ransacking, wrecking or crippling them so that they are unable to give further credit. It is estimated that some 800 villages have been subjected to persecutions in one form or another.

Mr. Farson thinks, however, that the story cannot be told with mere statistics. The figure of the grey-bearded Metropolitan; battered peasants lying with raw and bleeding buttocks in the hospital of his churchyard; Sisters of Mercy removing bandages; an old man of 62 years telling how the soldiers rode into the village, herded the people into a barnlike meeting house, flogged 20 men until some fainted only to be revived with cold water and flogged again, — such things speak more eloquently.

A peasant came from Haye to Lviv to see Mr. Farson. "But when I fainted I did not feel any more," he said. "I shall probably be taken by the police as I leave the hotel door, but we want to make sure you know the truth about what they did to Tiutko". With spies waiting for Mr. Farson, he knew more of the spirit of the peasant who dared police vengeance.

### *The Polish Side.*

The Polish officials spoke to him of provocation from the Ukrainian side. Bazyli Rogowski, the minister of public security for the voyvodship of Lviv, showed him the map of alleged Ukrainian outrages and sabotage. He said that there had been 51



cases of incendiarism in the district of Lviv, 20 in its environs, 31 in the district of Stanislaviv, 73 in the district of Tarnopol, all of them happening since July 1. Mr. Rogowski claimed that the peasants of the three East-Galician voyvodships had started 155 fires and committed 10 cases of telephone and telegraph wire-cutting and killed one policeman. For this the Polish government made 852 arrests, 500 of these persons being still in prisons, awaiting trials, and killed five Ukrainians. Three of these were given death in Mexican fashion — "shot while trying to escape" — and the others "just died." At the present moment, Mr. Rogowski said, there are 20 Ukrainian priests awaiting trial in connection with peasant sabotage. Farm fires, he assured Mr. Farson, had cost insurance companies more than 9,000,000 zlotys (\$1,012,000). Most of the troubles were charged by that official to the Ukrainian Military Organization, a secret organization, with headquarters in Berlin, which was alleged by Mr. Rogowski to be financed with German money.

This is the Polish side of the conditions, which Mr. Rogowski asked Mr. Farson explicitly to state fairly, a request with which Mr. Farson readily complied.

Mr. Farson thinks there is much truth in such Polish charges. He says one cannot help feeling a certain sympathy for the Poles when the Ukrainians refuse to be ruled by the Poles and want independence. In spite of his Polish sympathies, he says, "My point is, and there is much tragic evidence to prove it, that the floggings of Ukrainian peasants by the Polish soldiery, while customary affairs in Eastern Europe, were carried to a length of absolutely unnecessary and extreme brutality. Entire villages have been subjected to terrorism when the Polish police or soldiery were unable to find the real culprit."

The Poles connect the acts of incendiarism and sabotage with the Ukrainian Military Organization, and for the acts of this organization they punish the entire race. "How much the violent secret Ukrainian Military Organization, 'U. W. O.', has had to do with instigating peasant sabotage, how many peasants, innocent and otherwise, have been imprisoned, flogged and beaten to death as a consequence — these are facts contemporary investigators will never know for the simple reason that the Poles will not let you find out."

"And that terrorism still rules the countryside," he wires his papers in Chicago and Buffalo, on November 15.

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## XVII.

## THE OBSTACLES OF UKRAINIAN PRESS IN INVESTIGATING ATROCITIES.

The Ukrainian papers are, of course, not permitted to tell their readers what is happening in their own country. A copy of the "Dilo," the chief Ukrainian newspaper, which has arrived here (it is dated October 2) is full of big blank spaces where the Polish censor has suppressed matter relating to the recent events in the Ukraine.

(The Manchester Guardian, October 15, 1930.)

*(Polish propagandists do not like to admit the existence of press censorship in Poland. They speak of Poland as a free, civilized, Western European power, with the usual libertarian guarantees of the freedom of the press. They like to quote the Polish Constitution, on the guarantees of the freedom of the press in Poland. And that constitution says, in its Art. 105:*

*"Freedom of the press is guaranteed. Censorship, or the system of licensing printed matter, shall not be introduced. Daily papers and other matter printed in this country shall not be barred from the mails, nor shall their distribution on the territory of the Polish Republic be restricted."*

*This quotation usually suffices to fool a foreigner and to lull him into snug satisfaction that the new country followed the noble examples of older republics; but it is not known that the very next clause of the Polish constitution contains a catch with regard to the freedom of the press, stating:*

*"A special statute will define the responsibility for the abuse of this freedom".*

*No such special statute was passed, and the old laws of Austria, Prussia, and Russia are still in force in the respective sections of those empires taken over by Poland. In that territory of Poland which was formerly a part of Austria, there is in force the "Imperial and Royal Press Statute," which had been issued by the Austrian emperor in 1862. This statute recognized censorship, namely the so-called advance censorship, by which the prosecuting attorneys acting as censors in press matters, had to read every printed publication before it was passed into circulation. These attorneys could delete the entire text, or a portion of it. They could also make a motion in the courts for legal prosecution of the persons responsible for the publication.*

*These are the Austrian pre-constitutional rules which in general outlines still are the law in Galicia, in spite of the Polish Constitution's liberal*



stand against censorship. Certain modifications were introduced by Polish practice into this Austrian law, none of them, however, were done in the spirit of liberty. The Austrian censorship hardly ever went beyond the suppression of the text. Polish censors, as a rule, bring every suppression into the courts, with the result that some of the texts are then released, while the suppression of others is confirmed. As the release usually comes too late, the procedure entails the loss of time and money, the newspaper besides being compelled to publish in Polish the decree of the court. Thus even the release of the articles unjustly censored is burdensome and is used by the courts as effective chicanery of the organs opposing the government.

Another innovation of the Polish practice, as compared with that of Austria, is the abolition of the right of parliamentary deputies to "immunize" an article suppressed. In the Austrian Empire, a deputy could bring into the parliament an interpellation to the Minister of Justice, asking him for an explanation of the suppression. Such an interpellation, incorporated into the minutes of the Parliament's proceedings and enjoying their immunity, could be published by the newspaper as a part of the Parliament's proceedings. This privilege, too, was done away with by Poland; now Ukrainian papers are censored for quoting the words of deputies spoken in Poland's Parliament, from the stenographic minutes of its sessions.

The article of the "Dilo", mentioned by the "Manchester Guardian," illustrates another side of the position of the Ukrainian press in Poland. The article was a series of reprints from various Polish newspapers. The translations were literal. No comments were added by the editor of the "Dilo". Each item had been passed upon by the Polish censor and found unobjectionable—as long as it appeared in a Polish newspaper. But when it appeared in a Ukrainian translation and was to be published in a Ukrainian newspaper, the contents were considered treasonable, the article was confiscated, the police consequently seized the entire issue, and the publisher had to print another issue in which the place for the article appeared as a blank space.

Another example: The same Ukrainian daily "Dilo", published, on October 15, 1930, No. 229, a review of the Polish press, under the heading, "From the Polish Press". Under a subtitle, "The Warsaw 'Robotnik' on 'Pacification'," the "Dilo" said:

"In the 'Robotnik', the organ of the Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, of October 12, 1930, we find an uncensored article entitled 'Pacification'. The article is devoted in full to the so-called pacification of Galicia by the Polish government. The contents of the article are very characteristic of the sentiments and mentality of the Polish liberals, who stand in opposition to the government, and for this reason the article is of interest to our readers. We quote here the entire article in a literal translation:"

Now was to follow the quotation. Instead there appears a blank space. The censor suppressed the Ukrainian paper for reprinting an article from a Polish paper, and this in spite of the fact that the editor went to the trouble of mentioning that the article of the original publication had not been suppressed. Such cynicism the Polish censor does not permit himself to practice towards Opposition organs; they may use at least the pronouncements of the government organs without exposing themselves to the cost of printing the same issue twice.

The editor of the "Dilo" publishes in the issue of December 6, 1930, a long editorial entitled, "Surprises of Censorship," in which he enumerates a whole series of suppressions which he admits were surprises even to him, the editor of a Ukrainian daily, who could collect censored articles enough to print a full annual of his paper.

Among the latest surprises the editor enumerates the suppression of an issue for giving an "illegal" adjective to the phrase "conditions of work." The editor says that he could understand if the objectionable adjective referred to such nouns as "State", "Government," or to the name of some "dignitary" (the editor, of course, meant Marshal Pilsudski), but how could one libel such an inanimate, abstract noun as "conditions of work?"

Lately the censor has suppressed an issue of the "Dilo" for the use of the adjective "Ukrainian". Such a thing has never happened to the paper yet during all the 52 years of its existence.

Another issue was suppressed for the making a mention of the "historic period in Ukraine in the second half of the 17th century", although the article had no reference either to Poland or to Polish-Ukrainian relations.

There was suppressed a report of a meeting of the Polish university students.

The censor suppressed a report which was simultaneously published by local Polish papers in black type.

He censored even the report of semi-official press agency "A. T. E." and even the reports of the official "P. A. T." (Polish Telegraphic Agency), when published in the Ukrainian daily "Dilo".

A dozen times the paper was suppressed for reprinting of non-censored articles of Polish newspapers (e. g., of the Cracow "Naprzod" and Warsaw "Robotnik" and "Tydzien"); the articles reprinted defended the Ukrainians.

The paper was suppressed for criticizing individual officials, though this is done by Polish newspapers every day and evidently is not prohibited by the law.

As a curio of the censorship conditions the editor of the "Dilo" relates how the editor of another Ukrainian paper, the weekly "Svoboda",

*in order to insure himself against the eternal suppressions of his paper, decided to take from the "Dilo" not only articles, but the ready composition of such articles, already passed by the censor. What a surprise was due to him one day when he found that the censor suppressed in the "Svoboda" the article the type of which had been taken from the printing shop of the "Dilo" (in which it had not been suppressed).*

*"Out of purely practical motives," says the editor of the "Dilo", "our paper does not protest these suppressions, bearing in mind that it would be useless to add to all the material losses caused by suppressions additional costs for retaining a legal representative and to lose dear time. And still it is evident that the censorship practice of the last months has grown very original, indeed, if the district court of Lviv revoked a whole series of suppressions and permitted to reprint whole articles and passages that had been crossed out by the censor only a few days ago".*

*It would take us too far astray from the main purpose of this book if we were to inquire what are the effects of such censorship conditions in Poland. In a general way those effects were presented by the Polish periodical "Tydzien" (The Week), of Warsaw, as it was suspending its publication.*

*"Starting anew the publication of our paper, we counted upon the increased interest in the current political events. These expectations did not fail us. The increase in the number of our subscribers and of the copies sold was slow but constant. We hoped that in the nearest future our paper will stand on firm ground and that we will succeed in creating a center of independent democratic thought.*

*"We have, however, miscalculated the "methods" of struggle against the freedom of speech used in this country, which recognizes no legally instituted censorship of the press. Continual confiscation which often deleted more than half of the text of the printed matter from the copy of our paper made us, instead of suppliers of thought, suppliers of blank paper.*

*"When this was not enough, then the printing shops in which we printed our newspaper, refused to continue the work, with assurances that they were very sorry indeed. Other printing shops to which we turned also failed to show greater bravery, and even when they did risk it, they brought us after a week the same result.*

*"By what ways these shops were driven to such a strange restraint in accepting new patrons, we leave to the imagination of our readers.*

*"Under such circumstances, we are compelled to discontinue the unequal struggle and to suspend our publication—at least until the time when honest and loyal criticism will not be considered a crime."*

*And this is exactly the purpose of the censorship: to kill off free investigation by newspapers by means of the threat to kill the newspaper that dares to investigate freely.*



## XVIII.

*POLISH GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC OPPOSED TO INVESTIGATIONS BY FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.*

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The terrible events in the Ukraine, and to a smaller extent the Polish elections, have naturally aroused some interest in the world at large, with the result that several newspaper correspondents—American, French, and English—have arrived on the scene.

The Polish pro-government newspaper, "Express Poranny," writes that there are correspondents and correspondents, and that while some see things for themselves and report objectively, there are "individuals who come to our country with preconceived notions and with the object of lowering the prestige of our state. They are not ashamed to operate with lies and calumnies, and with such gentlemen we should not stand on ceremony, and rather than let them fuss round in Poland we should get rid of them as quickly as possible."

As this little article in the "Express Poranny" is headed "Second Act in the Ukrainian divergence," it must refer particularly to those correspondents who are thinking of writing about the excesses that were recently committed by the Poles in the Ukraine. There is great nervousness in official quarters here lest the facts should leak out any more than they have done already (although they have done so quite abundantly).

(The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, November 12, 1930.)

*(The nervousness of the Polish press and Polish government can be explained only when the position of the press in Poland is taken into consideration. The Polish government has an easy way with the papers published in Poland. Various officials issue at every opportunity official statements. If a paper dares to doubt the veracity of the official communique or to publish something contrary to it, the government may give it a short shrift: it simply suppresses the newspaper's report. What are the feelings of a government accustomed to such privileged position towards the press in the land, when it has to face foreign press which is often not accustomed to such rough handling? Government officials entrusted with foreign propaganda feel inadequate to attain their purpose. They feel the animosity of*

the press. They attack newspapers with bitter incriminations. And then appeal to the home government to stop the "pilgrimages of the crowds" of foreign correspondents and all independent investigations, or to influence some correspondents or investigators to say a favorable word for the government.

And the government, naturally, has to do its utmost, often with fatal results. It has the power to penalize inflexible correspondents, to reward the pliable ones. Thus some reports are suppressed, others distorted. The entire source of information becomes polluted by the hand of the government.

The Polish government furnished the world an illuminating example of this in its campaign against the "Manchester Guardian". Soon after foreign newspapers began to publish reports of Polish atrocities in Galicia, the Polish Press Bureau in London began to issue a series of Bulletins entitled "Manchester Guardian's Campaign Against Poland and Peace". The Bureau said its purpose was to give plain statements of facts in order to expose the methods of attacking Poland which have been employed by the "Manchester Guardian". The "Manchester Guardian" was singled out not so much because it was one of the first to expose Poland's methods of introducing law and order into Ukraine as because the paper enjoys a high reputation.

In its Bulletin No. 1, the Polish Press Bureau charges the "Manchester Guardian" with the suppression of the official denials issued by Poland or publishing them so heavily censored that they become almost valueless. The "Manchester Guardian" proves by quotations that the statement, as published by it, contained all the substantial points of the Polish denial.

In its Bulletin No. 2, the Polish Press Bureau charges the "Manchester Guardian" with "malevolent anticipation" which, the Bureau charges, was manifested by the "Manchester Guardian" in publishing a telegram of an interview with Marshal Pilsudski about to be published in the "Gazeta Poranna" of Warsaw. The Bureau further charges that the interview was invented by the news agency quoted by the "Manchester Guardian". The "Manchester Guardian" is attacked bitterly, though the charge could be laid only against the Wolff Telegraph Agency. The "Manchester Guardian" shows conclusively that even the news agency has not been guilty of bad faith, but became a victim because of the withdrawal of the interview by the Polish marshal, or the Polish paper.

In the Bulletin No. 3, the Polish Press Bureau attacks the "Manchester Guardian" for publishing on October 10, 1930, a telegram from its Berlin correspondent stating that the campaign against the Ukrainian minority and the Polish Opposition was about to be extended to the German minority and that the arrest of three German leaders was intended. The "Manchester Guardian" points out that the campaign against the racial minorities of Poland has been extended against the Germans. As to the announcement



of the forthcoming arrest of three German leaders, the "*Manchester Guardian*" points out that its Berlin correspondent had informed it privately at the time, that he had thought publication of this message might avert the arrest of the three leaders. The "*Manchester Guardian*" is happy to see from the Bulletin No. 3, that the result desired by it was achieved.

"The Bureau also complains," the "*Manchester Guardian Weekly*" says, "that we did not publish a letter from it calling our 'attention to the improbability of your correspondent being in possession of any reliable basis for imputing to the Polish authorities intentions of this nature a month in advance.' We did not feel called upon to publish the views of the Polish Press Bureau upon the general credibility of our correspondent, whose messages have so effectually exposed the persecution by the Polish Government of the Ukrainians, the Polish Opposition, and the German minority in Upper Silesia."

In its Bulletin No. 4, the Polish Press Bureau accuses the "*Manchester Guardian*" of "blind hatred" for Poland. This the Polish Press Bureau takes for proven by the fact that the "*Manchester Guardian*" published a message from Moscow directed against Poland, without any comment and "heavily censored" the Bureau's letter to the newspaper. The "*Manchester Guardian*" pointed out that the message in question, being purely descriptive, did not require any editorial comment, no more than did another equally descriptive message from Warsaw contrary in its content to the Moscow report. The "*Manchester Guardian*" points out that those sections of the Bureau's letter containing proper and relevant remarks denying the statements made in Moscow were published by the "*Guardian*", while other portions of the longwinded letter containing offensive remarks about the newspaper's foreign correspondent were omitted.

Bulletin No. 5, abuses the "*Manchester Guardian's*" message on Polish election methods on the ground of "ignorance, exaggeration, and obvious spitefulness". But,—here the "*Manchester Guardian*" characterizes the Polish journalistic methods,—the Bulletin does not answer the charges which the message makes.

The campaign of the Polish Press Bureau against the "*Manchester Guardian*" continues. The longer it lasts the more evident it becomes what position Polish propagandists are struggling to win for themselves in the world press. They want to gain the recognition by foreign press that the Polish government alone is the only authoritative source of information about the events in Poland. Other news should be suppressed, or if featured, provided with Polish comments. If Polish Press Bureaus were successful in their efforts, something parallel to press censorship would prevail. At least the Polish government would have over the press a weapon equally efficient as the proverbial red pencil of the Polish press censor.

*To the wide world this might be an unusual pretense. To the press of the racial minorities under Poland there is nothing new in it. It is merely the continuation of the struggle of the Polish press to gain the same favorable position of the spoiled child which the Polish press occupied already in Austria and which it has occupied in the entire territory under Polish control.*

*The ambitious campaign, as far as the "Manchester Guardian" is concerned, has failed. It failed to expose the "Guardian". It failed to induce other papers to take a stand against the "Guardian". And several international agencies, especially the Council of the League of Nations, have more than vindicated the stand of the "Manchester Guardian".*

*But the Polish Press Bureau keeps on firing its volleys with desperate persistence.—Ed.)*

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## XIX.

### A POLISH ORGAN ON MR. NEGLEY FARSON AND THE TIUTKO'S CASE.

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#### THE TRUTH ABOUT IT — NOT SUCH A "SCOOP."

(THE NATION for Jan. 7, 1931. "*The 'Pacification' of the Ukraine*", by Negley Farson.)

We suspected that the author of this article was from Berlin even before we verified the fact by inquiry and found that he is the Berlin correspondent of the Chicago Daily News. His eagerness to invade eastern Galicia and send back a story about the relations between the Poles and the radical constituent of the Ruthenian minority, as well as his peculiar methods of investigation and biased criticism of the Polish authorities all suggested the characteristic attitude of correspondents from Berlin when they undertake to "investigate" Polish affairs.

Arriving in Lwow early in the morning and finding, no doubt with relief, that Voivode was not yet out of bed, Mr. Farson did not wait to see him or to present his passport to any other official, but immediately started out for an outlying village to make discoveries. Once there, he concentrated all his interest on the case of one Tiutku, a radical Ruthenian who had defied the police, had been punished, and had happened to die of heart failure the following day. Being from Berlin, he paid no attention to the

acts of sabotage and arson committed by the radicals against peaceful Polish landowners. The burning of homes and granaries and the destruction of public buildings by the rioters did not arouse his interest in the least, although these and similar outrages were what had brought about the investigation by the police. Mr. Farson did not think even the discovery of large stocks of dynamite in the homes of the radical peasants as worthy of passing mention, nor the fact that many law-abiding Polish citizens had been wounded by their guns and sticks. One of the victims was an innocent young woman, a secretary in the office of the annual Eastern Fair in Lwów, who had been horribly mutilated by machine-gun fire. He made no attempt to find out who had stirred up the trouble, or who had financed the riots—for the peasants themselves had no money. Had he done so he would have discovered that it was foreign influence which had instigated and directed the disturbances, and foreign money which had financed them. Mr. Farson seems to have been interested only in what the Polish Government had done. He devotes a surprising amount of space in *THE NATION* to the fate of the defiant Tiutku. The peasants told him that Tiutku had run away from the police and had hidden himself in the woods. When they found him he offered to aid them in their search for rebel machine guns and explosives, and told them that he knew where a machine gun was hidden in a certain house in the next village. After reaching there the police found that he had deceived them; there was no gun of any kind there. Asked by an officer why he had lied to the police, Tiutku answered, "Because I hate you!"

Not only does Mr. Farson take the police to task for punishing Tiutku, but he deplors the fact that they became so interested in himself as to ask to see his passport.

Somehow we cannot share Mr. Farson's apparent opinion that he made what the journalists call a "scoop". His discoveries are not so startling. Smart Alecks like Tiutku have defied lawful authority in every country, and have met with proper punishment. Moreover, we doubt if the government of any other country would have done less than require of a snooping foreigner that he present a passport. Curiously enough, it was a man from Berlin, Dr. Henry Treitschke, the celebrated Prussian historian, who declared on the first page of his book "*Politik*" that it is the prime duty of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens from destruction.

"Poland", New York, February, 1931.



(The editor of "Poland" evidently thinks that for the news to come from Berlin means that it bears a *prima facie* proof of being a lie. In view of this opinion, it is strange that there are some newspapers in the world who still maintain their correspondents in Berlin. It is still more strange that "Poland" has failed to denounce on that ground a whole series of other correspondents, e.g. Miss Dorothy Thompson, when she wrote about Warsaw, Pilsudski and Poland, from Berlin.

The editor of "Poland" further presents us with his ideal of a foreign correspondent. As this ideal is at once also the ideal of the Polish officialdom, it is worth while to examine it closely. Such an ideal journalist should not be possessed of any eagerness to go into foreign countries for the purposes of investigation. Such going becomes an "invasion"; that is, it is really snooping, and such a foreign correspondent becomes a "foreign snooper". Should a foreign correspondent be forced to visit a foreign country, he should supply himself with all the reliable information from the leading official of the district, especially if the case under his inquiry contains charges against the government. (It is self-evident that the most authoritative statement about a crime can come from the party suspected of it.) The only way for a foreign correspondent to make a "scoop" under such circumstances is to come to the official suspected of an illegal or inhumane act. If the official is in bed, or says he is in bed, the correspondent should wait in the anti-chamber until the official gets out of bed. Having received the official statement, he hurries to send it through the government wire, where it is censored by the government censor. Thus the authoritativeness of the statement is assured.

Mr. Negley Farson erred from beginning to the end. He "invaded" the Polish territory. He "investigated". He contented himself with presenting his passport to the police, and did not wait for the governor to get up. And what is worse he ventured by himself into outlying districts, where dangers lurk for a foreign correspondent, where he got information which would not be countersigned by the accused officials and for which he was asked to show his passport. In short, Mr. Negley Farson is not a foreign correspondent, but a "foreign snooper."

Among his other crimes there is also that of the interest shown in a man by the name Tiutko, a mere Ukrainian peasant, a radical, a defiant rebel, who was so terrible that when he was whipped to death by the Polish police he refused to love them. The editor of "Poland" wants his readers to believe that any police in any civilized country would have killed anybody else for the crimes of being a Ukrainian, a radical, and for not loving the police when being beaten by them. Perhaps, but then we must differ in the definition of what constitutes a civilized country.

The editor of "Poland" speaks of riots. Well, not even Polish papers could report any riots before, during or after the punitive expeditions.



*That criticism of Mr. Negley Parson by "Poland" for not finding out who had stirred up trouble, or who had financed the riots, whence the peasants had gotten money,—all this criticism of Mr. Farson after he had been told to "present his passport" and shown the door, is a critical treatise on journalism of unparalleled beauty.—Ed.)*

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## XX.

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*"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" ON MR. FARSON'S REPORT.*

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## LWOW (LEMBERG), EASTERN GALICIA, FRIDAY.

Eleven Ukrainian peasants, most horribly beaten by the Poles, are lying here in a primitive little Ukrainian hospital. They are only a few of the many victims of what is officially known as "the pacification of Eastern Galicia." It is necessary to be quite frank in dealing with what is one of the most appalling atrocities of modern times. These eleven peasants were so beaten on the bare buttocks that the flesh was literally pulped.

It was with a feeling of horror and sickness, and with apologies for the necessity of not shrinking from the last conclusive evidence, that I asked the kindly priests who were looking after the battered victims to let me see the actual injuries. Thereupon bandages and pads of cotton wool were removed and the bluish tint of living flesh beaten to pulp three, four, or five weeks ago was exposed to my sight. Photographs of the injuries are in my possession.

It is significant that when the Polish authorities here in Lwów heard of the existence of these photographs they searched not only the Ukrainian hospital but also the house of every Ukrainian doctor. They did not ask who the eleven patients were. The Poles denied that there were any beatings. All they wanted was to destroy the evidence of these photographs. Indeed, their precautions to keep both the Polish public and the world at large in ignorance of what has happened in the Ukraine are prodigious.

## BLAND DENIALS

In the villages the peasants are in a state of terror and dare not talk. Anyone trying to question them is arrested or detained. Whoever tries to find out the truth is shadowed by a gang of

Polish spies, who lounge round his hotel and follow him about, sometimes even in a motor-car.

Mr. Farson, of the "Chicago Daily News," and myself were shadowed by a select little gang whom we soon learned to recognise. One of them was a woman in gumboots, who spent most of her time looking bored in the vestibule of the George Hotel. Mr. Farson was detained by the police of the worst Polish atrocities in the village of Gaje, where some were committed, many peasants being beaten and one dying of his injuries. And all the time the police will treat the investigator with infinite smooth courtesy and assure him, with the blandest urbanity, that there were no beatings at all.

The main facts about the "pacification of the Ukraine" were published in the "Manchester Guardian" some weeks ago. These facts have now been fully confirmed. The victims I have seen myself—namely, the eleven here in hospital—are only a few of the very many. Besides these eleven there are about fifty in Lwów who have so far recovered that they can walk about. They come to the hospital daily to have their bandages changed or a new plaster put on. The total of those who were beaten is not known. It probably goes into many hundreds. Those who were beaten so as to be gravely injured must number many scores, nor is it possible to tell how many were killed (the Poles themselves admit that there were five, though they say that three of these were killed while trying to escape, and that two died because they were ill).

### PEASANTS ROUNDED UP

But several have died of the beatings.

Michael Petrushka, who lived in the village of Nowy Wielky, for example, ran away in terror and was caught and beaten. Then he broke away again, but was caught. He died of his injuries on October 25.

A peasant named Tiutko, who was beaten at Gaje, died after his whole body was black with blows.

There is great variety in the atrocities that were committed, and in the enormous damage that was done, chiefly by the 14th Polish Cavalry Regiment, of which some very youthful officers recuperated at the George Hotel after the exertions of peasant-flogging. But there is one story that can be heard again and again from peasants of all the many villages that were "pacified."

The cavalymen or "Uhlans" arrive, a dozen, twenty, or even fifty are herded together in a barn or in the village hall. Then each one is seized in turn by a few soldiers, laid on a table or bench, and beaten with heavy sticks until he faints. Then water will be poured over him, and he may receive another beating when he comes to. Even the older men were not spared—one peasant, aged sixty-two, described to me how he was beaten in this way. Another and younger man was beaten three times and then thrown into a river.

### WOMEN VICTIMS

Sometimes the troops fired on peasants as they fled into the woods. Women and children were beaten too. Many of those who are still prostrate after beatings that were given weeks ago are lying in their own cottages without proper medical attention, for Ukrainian doctors are not allowed to visit the villages, which are so closely watched by Polish police that no ambulance work is possible. Even the inquiry into the number of killed and injured which the Ukrainians themselves had begun has now become impossible, for those who attempt to make inquiries are simply arrested, and (if they are Polish subjects) thrown into prison.

All the beaten peasants I have seen are wholly innocent—even the Poles make no accusation against them. Many of the beatings were done in districts where there had never been incendiarism. The Ukrainians have in the last few months set fire to haystacks and outhouses on the big Polish estates, but there is no evidence that any of the men, women, and children who were beaten had anything to do with any of these acts of incendiarism. The Poles have made hundreds of arrests, and it may be that amongst those arrested some will be found to have been guilty of incendiarism, but between the incendiarism and the beatings there is no real relationship and certainly no proportion.

I may add that in some of the villages where the peasants were beaten they were told that if they did not vote for Marshal Pilsudski on Sunday there would be a second "pacification."

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 17, 1930).

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## XXI.

*UKRAINIAN PRESS REPORTS DEATHS  
AS THE RESULT OF POLISH ATROCITIES.*

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## 1.

## OBITUARIES

## MICHAEL TIUTKO

A report reaches us from Hayi that on Saturday, October 18, there died in that village an 18 year old lad, Michael Tiutko, Gregory's son, whom the military punitive expedition of the 14th Uhlands regiment, stationed at Lviv, had taken from the field and flogged him on the 15th and the 16th, first in the village of Chy-zhykiv, and then again in the village of Hayi.

The funeral of the late Tiutko will be held in Hayi on Monday, October 20, in the afternoon.

("Dilo", Lviv, October 23, 1930.)

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## 2.

## OBITUARIES

Michael Petrushka, an active member of the reading-room of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), co-owner of a restaurant, in Mosty Velyki, 28 years of age, died on Friday, October 24, 1930, as a result of flogging.

The funeral was held on October 26, 1930, in Mosty Velyki, and was attended by an unusually large number of people.

May the earth cover him lightly as a feather!

"Dilo," the Ukrainian daily, Lviv (Lemberg), Thursday, October 30, 1930.

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## 3.

## DEATH OF ANOTHER VICTIM

Extracts from minutes dated December 23, 1930. The District Court, department VI. (Criminal) Court at Lviv, in the matter of suppression of the No. 282, of the periodical "Dilo,"



dated Lviv, December 19, 1930, Do Syg. VI. No. Pr. 435/30, at a secret session of December 3, 1930, after hearing the opinion of the public prosecutor of the District Court of Lviv, has made the decision: to confirm as justified the suppression of the periodical "Dilo," No. 282, of December 19, 1930, as ordered by the Prosecutor of the District Court of Lviv on December 18, 1930, because this issue contained in the article entitled "INTERPELLATION" on page 4, column 3, both in the title and in the article the criteria of the crime of Art. 65a. of the Penal Code; to order the destruction of the entire print of that issue and to enjoin further dissemination of that printed matter, according to the Art. 493, of the Criminal Procedure. At the same time the editor of this publication is ordered to publish this decision in the next issue, on the first page, without pay. Failure to fulfill this order will bring the consequences set forth in Art. 21, of the Law on Printed Matter, dated December 17, 1862, No. 6, ex. 1862, which consists of a fine up to 400 zlotys. On the other hand the court decided to rescind the suppression by the Public Prosecutor of the District Court of Lviv, on December 18, 1930, of the article "OBITUARIES" from the words "As a result" to the words "completely," published in "Dilo," No. 282, Lviv, December 19, 1930. The motivation: Ad I. The publication in print of the above mentioned article has for its purpose arousing of contempt and hatred towards the administration of the state, which constitutes a crime against Art. 65A. of the Penal Code. The order is justified according to Art. 487, 489, 493, of the Code of Criminal Procedure, as well as according to Art. 36 and 37 of the Press Statute. Ad II. Because in the contents of the article quoted there are no elements of any crime the suppression of the issue was to be rescinded. The original is attested with proper signatures, witnessed by Lipanowicz, senior clerk.

*(The above is the suppression order passed by the court in Lviv, against an issue of the Ukrainian daily "Dilo". The order confirms a suppression of one article, and releases another. The editor publishes the order on the first page, in Polish, the original language.)*

*(Taking advantage of the order, the editor reprints on page 5, the news item, the suppression of which was rescinded.)*

## OBITUARIES

EDITOR'S REMARK: On the first page of today's issue of the "Dilo" the readers will find the notice of the District Court of Lviv revoking the suppression of the obituary published below. We publish it again in full, and the passage which was suppressed we reprint in black type.

MICHAEL KITSERA, peasant of Kotsuriv, district of Bibrka, died in Lviv, on December 14, 1930, as a result of the well-known events. The funeral was held on Tuesday, December 16, 1930, from the mortuary chapel, at Pekarshka Street, to Yaniv Cemetery.

The deceased, a 30 year old farmer, was one of the most enlightened workers in the district of Bibrka. A typical intelligent peasant (he had completed four classes of "gymnasium")—he possessed a burning desire for knowledge and tried to pass on to others the knowledge acquired by himself. He was the president of the reading-room of "Prosvita" in Kotsuriv and was an active worker in all enlightenment-cultural and economic societies of his native village.

AS A RESULT OF FLOGGING, HIS HEALTH, WHICH NEVER WAS STRONG, BROKE DOWN COMPLETELY. Even a painful operation performed at the Sanatorium "Vit," Lviv, Lys-topad Street, was of no avail.

The funeral of the late Michael Kitsera was attended by a score of inhabitants of his native village and a handful of intelligentsia from Lviv. In the procession were carried four wreaths from the societies of Kotsuriv. The eulogy was pronounced, in the name of the enlightenment's workers by Mr. Petryk, amidst weeping of those present at the funeral.

(DILO, Lviv, January 13, 1931.)

*(The court order is typical of its kind. Almost all issues of every Ukrainian newspaper are adorned with such orders. The issue of "Dilo" here quoted displays two such orders, which occupy about one fourth of the entire front page.*

*The sentence from the obituary which was deemed by the Public Prosecutor a sufficient basis for the suppression of the entire issue is printed in heavy type. The reader may see for himself what flimsy pretexts are used by the Polish offices of law and order to suppress Ukrainian newspapers.*

*The small number of mourners at the funeral of the victim of Polish atrocities was due to the secrecy enforced by means of such suppression of Ukrainian notices. Polish papers hushed up the matter completely.—Ed.)*

## ONE MORE VICTIM

On December 14, 1930, there died in Lviv, Michael Kitsera, farmer of Kotsuriv, district of Bibrka, as a result of the well-known events. A painful operation, performed at one of the sanatoriums at Lviv, proved of no avail to save his life.

He was a fine type of intelligent peasantry (he had completed four classes of "gymnasium") and was one of the most enlightened workers in the district of Bibrka. He was chairman of the Reading Circle of "Provita" (Enlightenment) in Kotsuriv and worked also in other societies of his village.

"Zhinocha Dola," Lviv, January 4, 1931.

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## 4.

## OBITUARIES.

NICHOLAS STRONSKY, member of the "Luh," in Humenka, district of Shchyrets, died in the 22nd year of his life, as a result of beatings administered on December 30, 1930.

The funeral was held on December 31, and was attended by a tremendous mass of people and the members of the "Luh." The band of the "Luh" of the village of Ostriv played funeral tunes.

("Dilo," Lviv, January 22, 1931.)

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## 5.

MICHAEL DMYTRUKH, 45 years old peasant of the village of Dobriany, district of Horodok, died as a result of flogging received during the pacification at the end of December 1930.

("Dilo," Lviv, January 22, 1931.)

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## XXII.

*POLISH CENSORSHIP REACHES FOR THE PRESS  
IN AMERICA.*

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JERSEY CITY, N. J., March 5, 1931. — The Postmaster of Lviv, Eastern Galicia, in a letter dated February 19, 1931, notified the postmaster of Jersey City, New Jersey, that a registered package of newspapers, marked No. 62936 and sent by the "Svoboda," the Ukrainian Daily of 83 Grand Street, Jersey City, on January 24, 1931, to, "Dilo," Lviv, Rynok 10, has been confiscated by the Polish police at Lviv.

*(This is another surprise of Polish censorship, of which the Ukrainian newspapers under Poland have much to say.*

*As the censor will always have an opportunity to suppress the "Dilo" for reprinting from the "Svoboda" anything contrary to the Polish law the Polish authorities cannot justly claim that they are stopping anti-state propaganda. This is simply an effort on the part of the Polish government to deprive the Ukrainian press under Poland of those facilities of information that stand at the disposal of the Ukrainian press in the countries where the freedom of press is not merely an empty provision of the constitution, without any real significance, as is the case in the so-called Polish Republic, but a reality.—Ed.).*

*(Svoboda, (Liberty), Jersey City, N. J., March 12, 1931).*

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## XXIII.

*TRUTH IS NO DEFENSE AGAINST THE SUPPRESSION OF A  
PRESS REPORT — POLISH COURT PROCLAIMS.*

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## NEWS OF PACIFICATION ON TRIAL

On November 6, of this year, there was held before the district criminal court of Lviv a public trial of the publication of the "Hromadsky Holos". The trial was ordered as a result of the appeal of the publishers of the "Hromadsky Holos" against the suppression of the issues No. 39, and No. 40, of the "Hromadsky Holos", of this year. The suppressed articles bore the titles,



"Pacification", "Pictures of Pacification", "Communique" (of the three Ukrainian parties on the pacification detachments), "As it used to be long ago", and "The Electoral Appeal to the Ukrainian People".

Mr. M. Stakhiv, representing the cooperative publishing association "Hromada", adduced in his appeal evidence to prove that the confiscation of the issue No. 39, was based on no legal foundation.

*(Here follows the blank space of 44 lines, which gave the motivation of the publishers.—Ed.)*

The public prosecutor opposed the motion of the appellants offering to prove truth of their allegations since this is of no importance. Besides this the prosecutor declared that the reports (of the pacification) have been published with the purpose of damaging the Polish State abroad.

The court overruled the motion of the publishers offering to prove truth on the ground that the proof of truth is for the matter itself without significance ("non-essential").

("Hromadsky Holos", Ukrainian weekly, Lviv, No. 45, November 15, 1930.)

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#### XXIV. --

#### THE REPORT OF THE LONDON TIMES.

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##### 1.

#### THE LONDON TIMES CORRESPONDENT INVESTIGATES — THE POLISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY REPORTS.

PAT. (The Polish Telegraphic Agency informs:

On October 25, the English consul Severy and the editor of the "Times" Berker, accompanied by the voyvoda of Stanislaviv, visited Yaremche and Tatariv. They called special attention to economic conditions and admired the beauty of the region. After their return they visited the voyvoda, and then bishop Latyshevsky. On October 26, they will start for voyvodship of Tarnopol.

*("Dilo," Lviv, October 28, 1930)*

*(Though very short, the report of the PAT was most significant. It was evidently given out in reply to the attacks of the*

*Polish press against the Polish officialdom charging them with doing nothing to counteract what was called Ukrainian and German propaganda. The report had for its purpose to show to the Polish public that the Polish government is not so inactive as the opposition papers represent it to be, and to allay the anxieties of the Polish public growing uneasy under continual reports of foreign investigations. The purport of the above report calms the Polish public by assuring them that the investigators have a good time and that they visit the Ukrainians not otherwise than under official supervision. Thus the public was assured that the Polish interests are well taken care of. — Ed.)*

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## 2.

### THE REPORT.

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#### A MINORITY IN POLAND — THE UKRAINIAN CONFLICT.

##### I. — INQUIRY ON THE SPOT.

*(From our Warsaw Correspondent).*

To revisit Eastern Galicia at the present time is to have a sharp and unpleasant reminder of one of the few latent wars that continue to be waged by a wholly submerged nationality. The conflict is between the Poles, who are sovereign, and the Ukrainians or Ruthenes, who are subject.

There is no clear line of demarcation between the two races because their settlements overlap and are intermixed. Under these conditions the best criterion for estimating their numbers is the difference of religious observance, which, more than any other factor, has enabled the Ukrainian national movement in Eastern Galicia to mature. Both races are Roman Catholic in the widest sense of the term, but, whereas the Poles belong to the Latin Rite and follow the usages and traditions of the Western Church, the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia possess a Uniat Church of their own which uses the Eastern Rite and the Old Slavonic Liturgy. The three East Galician Provinces of Lwow (Lemberg), Stanislawow, and Tarnopol contain nearly 3,500,000 Uniats, about 2,000,000 Latins, and about 500,000 Jews. It is fair to say that to every four Poles there are six or seven Ukrainians. The East Galician Ukrainians belong to the same race as the Ukrainians of Orthodox faith who inhabit Polish Volhynia and the Soviet Republic of the

Ukraine; but, as they were cut off from the Ukrainians of Russia while Galicia was under Austrian rule, their language, culture, and general outlook are on a different level.

A Ukrainophil movement, aiming at the exaltation of a peasant dialect into a literary Ukrainian tongue, was started in the Russian University of Kharkoff about the middle of last century. It was not, however, till 30 or 40 years later that it became a serious political factor in Eastern Galicia. By that time a number of educated people had emerged from the peasant mass, and in 1891 a group of Ukrainian Deputies appeared for the first time in the Austrian Reichsrath. The new middle class was recruited almost exclusively from the sons of the Uniat priests, who were permitted to marry in accordance with the tenets of Eastern Christendom.

### THE WAR OF 1918

As the movement grew steadily in numbers and influence, the Governments of the three Empires and the various national organizations of the Poles took an increasingly active interest in its possibilities. The Poles, who always regarded it as a danger to themselves, worked in Austria and in Russia to obstruct it. Russians and Poles gave their support to a smaller Russophil party, known as the Old Ruthenes, and the Russian Government developed a vigorous propaganda in Eastern Galicia to counteract the new Ukrainian nationalism. Germany and Austria, on the other hand, made use of the Ukrainians as a weapon against Russia and the Poles. They were thus in sympathy with an ecclesiastical ambition to endow the Uniat Church with a national status and extend it into Russia as an instrument for the conversion of the Orthodox.

After the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918 the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia proclaimed a West Ukrainian Republic and fought a war against the Poles, which they lost. A year later the Poles, in alliance with the Ukrainian Ataman Petlura, with whom they had come to terms, made their ill-fated march on Kieff, the failure of which did not prevent them from establishing their frontier once again on the River Zbrucz, the former eastern boundary of Austria, when they concluded a peace treaty with the Bolsheviks. The Allied Powers had conceived a plan of giving Poland a mandate over Eastern Galicia for 25 years, but eventually they recognized the whole of the Polish eastern frontier in the consideration that it was acknowledged by Poland, so far as concerned Eastern Galicia, that ethnographical conditions required a system of autonomy.

## WHEN TO PROMISE?

The reason why autonomy has not been granted is a simple one. The relations of the two peoples have continued so strained that there has not been the slightest ground for expecting that autonomous institutions would be made to work, or would do anything but widen the area of friction. While the difficulties of getting the Galician Poles to treat the Ukrainians as equals are admittedly great, the policy and behaviour of the Ukrainians during the last decade have rendered conciliatory intervention by the Central Government futile. Any Government inspired by Marshal Pilsudski—whose belief in the benefits of a Polish-Ukrainian alliance has been proved up to the hilt—would not hesitate to overrule the Polish Nationalists if the Ukrainians showed the will to cooperate. That is being done in Volhynia.

## HOSTILITY TO THE STATE

The attitude of all but an insignificant minority of the Ukrainian parties and organizations has been one of declared hostility to the Polish State, and the politicians have been avowed secessionists, not home-rulers. I cannot do better than quote the following extract from a conversation with one of the most representative of Ukrainian leaders: "We are fundamentally disloyal. We do not want peace. If our people are allowed to enter into friendly cooperation with the Poles they may cease to cherish the dream of an independent Ukraine, which we hope to realize in 30 or 40 years' time. Whatever is done for us, we must always be discontented."

The effects of this doctrine on the everyday life of the two communities can safely be left to the imagination. What is important is that the forces of intimidation at the command of the extremists have prevented many moderate home-rulers from making their peace with the Poles, whom they recognize to be as indigenous to Eastern Galicia as they are. While this state of affairs lasts a Polish Government can no more introduce an autonomous régime than a British Government could persuade Ulster to unite with a Southern Ireland in which there was a Republican majority. The East Galician Poles, like their northern compatriots of Vilna, are animated by a spirit which is comparable to that of Ulster.

The intimidation of moderates is exercised, at bottom, by the U.O.W. (Ukrainian Military Organization), a secret and illegal association which aims at being a sort of CADRE. Its recruits are found among lads in the upper classes of the Ukrainian secondary schools, university students, and peasants of the younger genera-



tion, but it is controlled by hardened conspirators. Volunteer fire brigades, athletic clubs, and even an organization modelled on the Boy Scouts have been used locally to screen allegiance to the U.O.W. The commander-in-chief is M. Konovalts, a Galician schoolmaster's son, who is now living at Geneva after a long residence in Berlin, whence the funds and munitions of the organization are largely derived.

The interest of German military circles in Ukrainian nationalism is nothing new; it was well established before 1914.

The U.O.W., which has always counted terrorist action among the weapons in its armoury, embarked for the first time last summer on an intensive campaign, immediately distinguishable from the sporadic outrages of former years. There are three possible explanations of this sudden offensive, none of which excludes the others. It may have been that a more conciliatory temper was becoming faintly discernible, which it was thought necessary to nip in the bud. It may also have been that the German friends of the organization wished to cause a diversion in Eastern Galicia; or that a newly-appointed "commander in the field" was over-anxious to prove his worth.

The campaign, which radiated from well-defined centres where there were Ukrainian secondary schools, consisted in the burning of barns, cornstacks and cottages belonging to Polish landlords and peasants, and is believed to have been executed for the most part by senior schoolboys, who were allotted objects to set on fire at some distance from their homes and accomplished their mission on bicycles after nightfall.

Subsidiary attention was given to the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, and a successful raid was made on a mail-van carrying a large sum in bank notes, in the defence of which a Polish constable lost his life. Communist agents, often appearing in the guise of Nationalists, joined independently in the work. There were nights when parts of the worst-stricken district, Rohatyn, were lighted by the glare in the sky; demoralized and disaffected villages refused obedience to the police; and it became clear that there was an imminent danger of spontaneous reprisals which might have been followed by an outbreak of anarchy. Early in September 57 Polish cottages were destroyed by a single fire at Kozowa, together with the entire crops of their owners.

The Polish Government then decided on extraordinary measures, as any other Government in a similar emergency must have done.

## COUNTER MEASURES

One method would have been to introduce martial law and military justice, with summary infliction of the death penalty for certain offences. Another would have been to put some thousands of disaffected persons in gaol or concentration camps. Both would have been open to serious objections, and I would not suggest that either was considered. The method chosen was to send a few squadrons of an East Galician cavalry regiment and 1,000 police, who were specially drafted in, on pacificatory tours of the most disturbed regions.

These expeditions conducted their operations in a narrow belt of country, running from the district of Grodek Jagiellonski, a few miles to the west of Lwow, through Bobrka, south of the same city, Rohatyn, Brzezany and Podhajce, to the district of Tarnopol. In other words, the operations were local, affecting only those districts in which the campaign of terrorism had been most intense and disaffection most rife in the villages. The places in which the troops and police established themselves, for periods varying from a few hours to five days, were deliberately chosen by the authorities, and lists of persons notoriously disaffected were furnished to the officers commanding.

The main accusations against the expeditions are that they inflicted brutal and promiscuous floggings, and that, on the pretext of searching for hidden arms, ammunition, and terrorist literature, they did reckless damage to house property, and particularly to the premises of cooperatives and cultural institutions. There can be no doubt that they felt themselves entitled to inflict corporal punishment on the persons who had been marked out for attention and on any others who offered them resistance. There can also be no doubt that in certain villages, sometimes under provocation and sometimes not, they committed most culpable excesses. But, having obtained entirely independent information about the procedure of the expeditions in some places where excesses were not committed, and having compared the number of places in which the Ukrainians truthfully or untruthfully allege excesses with my estimate of the total number of places visited, I am bound to conclude that even if all the Ukrainian allegations of pulped flesh were to be substantiated—as some undoubtedly have been—the number of visitations accompanied by gross cruelty would still be a small proportion of the whole. A sufficient number of oiled rifles and machine-guns were discovered, some in the houses of parish priests, to justify the search of every suspected hiding-place, even if par-

tial demolition of a thatch or a chimney was involved. I am satisfied that wanton destruction of institutional buildings was not within the Government's intentions, and that in the relatively few places where anything of the sort occurred it was the work of unauthorized individuals.

## II. RECONSTRUCTION.

It must be made plain that the object of the recent repressions, whatever their faults, was not the destruction of Ukrainian culture. Having spent a fortnight in motoring through Eastern Galicia on routes selected by myself, I can only report that in practically every town and most of the larger villages I noticed a branch of the Ukrainian cultural society or a Ukrainian cooperative without going out of my way to find it.

The cooperatives appeared to be doing a vigorous trade, and the signboards over many of them were painted in the Ukrainian national colours of blue and yellow. I also noticed that the number of signs in the Ukrainian alphabet on private houses and shops was much greater than when I made my last visit.

Economically, the Ukrainians have been free to consolidate themselves very rapidly, and more at the expense of the Poles than the Jews. If they have not got more schools and institutions, it is primarily because they have let so many become hives of sedition. It is difficult to understand the inert tolerance of the Polish administration which permitted the Ukrainian gymnasium towns like Rohatyn and Tarnopol to develop into the centres of a terrorist campaign. Ukrainians hold a fair proportion of judicial posts, in some districts over 40 per cent., but not all the judges and prosecutors have proved dependable. Intimidation or the threat of boycott by their own countrymen has prevented Ukrainians from entering the administrative services in any number.

## THE AUSTRIAN EXAMPLE

The first condition of any lasting improvement in the relations of the two communities is that order should be guaranteed by a stronger administration and police force. One of the main sources of weakness has been the survival of officials trained in the Austrian school, who have found themselves unable to cope with altered conditions. Men of the type that has been producing good results in the eastern marches from Vilna to Volhynia are now being appointed to responsible posts in Eastern Galicia, where their broader vision is sorely needed. The difference between the two types of administrator is this: Those of the older Austrian school resign themselves to the prospect of perpetual strife; they have

not the mental equipment to combat the Ukrainian refusal to cooperate with constructive ideas, and their inheritance of Austrian methods of LAISSER ALLER, combined with the fact that they are out of contact with the central government, makes them weak and hesitant when they are called upon to perform the elementary task of suppressing lawlessness and crime. These men are steadily being pensioned off.

The administrators of the new type understand that their first duty is to keep order and that inertia only makes a bad situation worse. But, instead of despairing of ever inducing the Ukrainians to become useful and loyal citizens, they set out to fight the boycott by protecting Ukrainians who might be willing to cooperate with them from the intimidation of their fellow-countrymen, by showing themselves just, benevolent, and constructive administrators in their personal intercourse with such people, and by improving the economic condition of the peasantry. These methods have had some success in the mountainous districts of the South, where political agitation has always been weaker. It is too early to say whether they are ever likely to succeed in Eastern Galicia as a whole, an over-populated agricultural country, in which both over-population and the poverty attendant on it have been much increased since the War by restriction of emigration overseas. The field for constructive work will certainly be widened by the expected passage in the new Sejm of a law to introduce in the former Austrian provinces the more representative forms of district and communal self-government which have proved a very helpful asset in the eastern marches. To sum up, new men and new methods are being given trial.

### TOWARDS COOPERATION

If terrorism and conspiracy, which are at the root of all ills, cannot be eliminated or at least controlled in any other way, it may be found desirable to recognize frankly that Eastern Galicia is in an unhealthy state and furnish it with a GENDARMERIE somewhat on the lines of the frontier guard. When law and order have been established it may be possible to induce the two races gradually to cooperate by the methods indicated, which means starting from the bottom of the scale in the lowest units of administration and self-government.

At the same time it is necessary to face the fact that most Ukrainians regard the Poles as foreigners in their midst and themselves as forced to live in a foreign State against their will. Whether in the long run they will be content to reserve for a more



distant future their ambitions of joining the Great Ukraine or forming a buffer State between Poland and Rumania, conceived as the Piedmont of the Ukrainian race, and accept temporary allegiance to the Polish State, depends to a large extent on the play of external factors. Those ambitions can only be realized in the nearer future by war, and if the Ukrainians ever became conceived that Europe as a whole was not heading for war but for peace they might moderate their hostility towards Poland. At present there are no signs of such a change.

The obvious requirement is that there should be full inquiry into the allegations against soldiers and police and punishment of those who are found guilty. I understand that this is being done. It is also hoped that in time members of the Government's party will be able to discuss the situation with some of the Ukrainian Deputies.

It would be unfair not to add that I believe there to be a firm determination in Warsaw and Lwow to make the recent restrictions the end, not the beginning, of a chapter.

(*The Times*, London, December 12, and December 18, 1930).

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### 3.

#### THE POLISH AND THE UKRAINIAN REACTION TO THE REPORT OF THE LONDON TIMES CORRESPONDENT.

(*The Polish daily "Kurjer Poranny" of Warsaw publishes a correspondence of its London correspondent about the report of the London Times on East Galician situation. Says the "Kurjer Poranny": "The Times, known in the whole world for sobriety and veracity of its opinions, has published lately a result of a questionnaire which its correspondent has sent out on the situation in Eastern Galicia, where, as it is well known, the Polish government was obliged lately to use severe methods of reprisals against the leaders of the Ukrainian sabotagist movement." This is followed by a translation of the "Kurjer Poranny's" abridgment of the contents of the London Times report.*)

In the above presentation, as we can see, naïveté vies with ignorance. The "Kurjer Poranny's" report quotes, for instance, as an undeniable authority the result of the questionnaire of the Warsaw correspondent of the Times. In the meantime, however, we know nothing whatsoever about any questionnaire supposed to have been sent out by the Times correspondent. We know only

that Mr. Barker, the Warsaw correspondent of the Times, toured in Eastern Galicia accompanied by the general consul of Great Britain, Mr. Severy, and that therefore his tour bore an official and not a journalistic-informatory character. That was the reason why Mr. Barker did not elicit any desire to meet the representatives of the Ukrainian press or of the Ukrainian economic or cultural institutions, limiting himself to semi-official visits (e. g., to church dignitaries). He also showed no desire to receive documentary materials in the matter which is alleged to have been the subject of his questionnaire. Who answered his questionnaire, what were concretely its questions, and what were the replies?

Great is the newspaper, but oh! for its correspondent!  
("Dilo", Lviv, January 4, 1931.)

*(It still has not been ascertained whether the London Times correspondent really had sent out a questionnaire as the Polish daily "Kurjer Poranny" states, or had not sent it, as the Ukrainian daily "Dilo" says.)*

*If such a questionnaire has not been sent, then we may understand the bitterness of the "Dilo" at the action of the "Kurjer Poranny" in making it appear as if it had been sent and in making it appear as if the reports of a correspondent were something more than an inquiry of an individual.*

*If such a questionnaire has really been sent by the correspondent of the Times, we have, in order to understand the "Dilo's" irritation, to take into account the conditions under which the Ukrainian newspapers work and under which the report had been made.*

*The report of a foreign correspondent has for the Ukrainians a much greater value and importance than for the people who have a free press and other facts-getting agencies. With the Ukrainian press muzzled by the Polish censorship; with the Polish press either muzzled, or writing irresponsibly whatever they think is in the interest of the Polish Government; with the Polish administration interested in concealment of the actual conditions; with the Polish courts twisting every paragraph to prevent investigation of the conditions and facts; with the Polish dictator's majority in the Sejm riding rough-shod over every motion for inquiry made by the racial minorities groups; with every obstacle being put by the power of the Polish state in the way of such an inquiry by international agencies; in such a state of affairs the appearance on the scene of tragedy of a foreign correspondent is only short of the arrival of a God-sent messenger. Only these conditions can explain why a Ukrainian peasant dares a horrible beating, at least, to tell Mr. Farson of the visit of the punitive expedition to his native village. Only these conditions can explain the expectations of fairness, non-partizanship, courage from a newspaper correspondent of a great English daily, by the Ukrainian editor. He has read so much about the Anglo-Saxon fair-play perhaps, instilled in sport and adventure, that he was*

*sure that the English correspondent either will pass no unfair judgment, or at least will listen to both sides and present both sides. His disappointment at seeing the correspondent of one of the greatest newspapers of the world unwilling to hear the Ukrainian side, and then seeing the report not in the form of a description of his own experiences, but in the form of a final judgment, must have been profound, though indeed merely commensurate to his perhaps naively great expectations.—Ed.)*

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## 4.

## COMMENTS ON THE REPORT OF THE TIMES.

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The Ukrainian national movement does not limit itself to the "exaltation of a peasant dialect into a literary tongue", but, like any other national movement, embraces the sum of the possibilities, material and cultural, of the particular race. No university can justly claim to have started it. Its culmination was the struggle for the establishment of the independent Ukrainian state, a struggle undertaken again and again in spite of all reverses.

Even the tendency to refine the Ukrainian vernacular into a literary idiom is older than the middle of the last century: More than two generations prior to that, the Ukrainian literature has produced the first successful literary uses of exclusively Ukrainian idiom (Ivan Kotlarevsky's "Aeneis Turned Inside Out", 1798).

Politically, too, the modern Ukrainian national movement is much older than suggested by the correspondent. The Ukrainian middle class grew not only out of the clergy, but also out of the peasantry and townspeople. Ukrainian deputies appeared for the first time in Austria not in 1891, but long before, indeed, at the very outset of the constitutional era in Austria, i.e. in 1848.

Like any other national movement, the Ukrainian national movement at once evoked friendship in some quarters, animosity in others. The neighbors, of course, were the first to react to its implications. The races, which dominated the Ukrainians, saw in the movement the menace to their dominion. While some members of the dominant races (Poles, Russians, Magyars) tried to lull the Ukrainians back into the racial sleep by sentimental interest in

the romantic side of the racial resurrection\*, the majority resorted at once to stern measures to stop its growth and development. The Austrian empire was interested in it as about one tenth of the Ukrainian people lived under the Austrian dominion. Austrian rulers were interested in it in the same way as were the Russians and Poles. Though Austria could use the Ukrainian animosity towards the Poles for the purpose of fighting the Poles, yet the Austrian emperors and nobility preferred to make peace with the Poles and to deliver them the Ukrainians, thus assuring themselves of the Polish uncompromising support. Germany was the slowest to become interested in the Ukrainian movement. Germany and Austria entered already openly upon the road of opposition to Russia, and yet the Germans refused to recognize the Ukrainian movement. Even during the world war, grappling in a death struggle against Russia, the Germans of Austria limited the Ukrainian legions fighting against Russia to two thousand men, while they limited the Polish legions to ten thousands, and then abolished all the limitations altogether. Tens of thousands of Ukrainians, racially conscious and anti-Russian in spirit, were packed into the prisons of Tahlerhof under the charges of espionage trumped up by the union of Germans, Poles, and Magyars.

If Austria was in sympathy with ambitions of the Ukrainian Uniat Church to convert the Ukrainians of the Orthodox church, she certainly did nothing patent to prove it; on the other hand, Poland, through her concordat with Rome, in 1924, effectively stopped that ambition of the Ukrainian Uniat Church by monopolizing the proselyting work among Orthodox Ukrainians for the "Latin" (Polish) Roman Catholic Church.

#### POLAND'S SOLEMN OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS UKRAINIANS

The correspondent slights over the occupation of Eastern Galicia by Poland. It must be emphasized that the occupation was a military one, done by the force of arms. The Ukrainians, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Eastern Galicia, opposed it with all their might. If it was not

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\* A relic of those efforts is that of dubbing the Ukrainian national movement by the name of "Ukrainophilism", and the race-conscious Ukrainians as "Ukrainophils". The term might be properly used when applied to a non-Ukrainian sympathizing with the national aspirations of the Ukrainians. To apply it to a Ukrainian is a misnomer, equal to calling a Pole a "Polonophil", a Russian a "Russophil", an Englishman an "Anglophil", or an American an "Americophil".



for the attack of Russia in the East, and the arrival of the Polish legions equipped by France, the Ukrainians would have been successful.

In a similar manner the correspondent slights over the whole question of autonomy, though the question is very pertinent to the entire Ukrainian problem under Poland.

On September 26, 1922, the Polish parliament at Warsaw enacted the law about the autonomy for Eastern Galicia.

On March 14, 1923, the Conference of the Ambassadors of the Allied and Associated Powers, at Paris, acting as successors of the Supreme Council, stated in their decision:

"The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, signatories, together with the United States of America as Principal Allied and Associated Powers, to the Treaty of Versailles:

"Whereas, according to the terms of Art. 37, part. 3, of the above Treaty, they shall establish the frontiers of Poland, not specified in that Treaty.

"Whereas, the Polish Government, on February 15, 1923, addressed an appeal to the Conference of Ambassadors, that the Powers represented on this body make use of the right conferred on them by the above Article. . . .

"Whereas, according to Art. 91 of the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, Austria renounces in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, all rights and titles over the territories which previously belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and which being situated outside the new frontiers of Austria, as described in Art. 27 of the above Treaty, are not subject to any other provision.

"Whereas, POLAND HAS RECOGNIZED THAT AS CONCERNS EASTERN GALICIA, THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS MAKE A REGIME OF AUTONOMY NECESSARY.

"WHEREAS THE TREATY BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS AND POLAND SIGNED JUNE 28th, 1919, PROVIDES IN ALL TERRITORIES PLACED UNDER POLISH SOVEREIGNTY SPECIAL GUARANTEES IN FAVOR OF RACIAL, LINGUISTIC OR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES.

"Consequently the Conference of Ambassadors:

"1. Decides to recognize the frontiers of Poland as follows:

(a) with Russia, the line traced and decided by agreement between the two States, and on their responsibility on November 23rd, 1922;\*\*

(b) Decides to recognize, and Poland accepts, all rights of sovereignty over the territories between the above defined frontiers and the other frontiers of Polish territory; under reserve of the provisions of the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye concerning duties and obligations incurred by states through the transfer to them of territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire."\*\*\*

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\* Italics are mine.—Ed.

\*\* The treaty here quoted is the Treaty of Riga, concluded between the Polish government, on one hand, and the Russian Bolshevik government, on the other, on October 12th, 1920.

\*\*\* Vide: SECURITY AGAINST WAR. By FRANCES KELLOR and ANTONIA HATVANY. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924.

The Treaty of June 28, 1919, quoted in the preamble of this treaty was THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY, AND JAPAN, AND POLAND, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919. That treaty guaranteed the citizens of Poland certain rights, the enumeration of which is pertinent to the problem under discussion. Article 2, of that treaty states:

"Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

"All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals."

Article 7, of that Treaty guaranteed the freedom of race, language, and religion:

"All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

"Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions or honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

"No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications or any kind, or at public meetings.

"Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts."

Article 8, of the Versailles Treaty guarantees the equality of Poland's citizens of non-Polish races with the citizens of Polish race:

"Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein."

Article 9, of the Treaty speaks of the schools for racial minorities:

"Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable portion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools."

"In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the state, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes."

Article 12, of the Treaty gives an international sanction to those guarantees, by proclaiming that:

"Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations."

### TREATIES AS EXPRESSION OF PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT

These treaties and international obligations of Poland all are in a way an expression of a policy, of a principle of administration. It was outlined by the Allied Powers themselves in their letter addressed to M. Paderewski, the official representative of Poland at Versailles, at the occasion of transmitting to him the final text of the above quoted treaty of June 28, 1919, as follows:

"The situation with which the Powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories now being transferred to Poland and other States inevitably include a large population, speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostility. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position, if they know that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire, and will indeed do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement."

The letter outlines one policy which offered itself to Poland after she had completed her military conquest of Eastern Galicia. This was the policy of counteracting the centuries-old estrangement of the conquered races, of winning them over from the attitude of hostility to the attitude of loyalty. The Allied and Associated Powers emphasize as the best method for that purpose the assurance of protection and adequate guarantees against all unjust treatment and oppression.

The London Times correspondent, however, has not the slightest ground for expecting that the autonomous institutions would be made to work, and this in view of the strained relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians.

Now this is not a statement of fact, but a statement of opinion. It is in fact the current Polish opinion, the opinion of the

Polish government, supported by the solid Polish public opinion. But is this opinion warranted by due consideration of facts and sound political reasoning?

That the relations between the two races have been strained the Ukrainians have never denied. In fact the denials came as a rule from the Polish side.\*

If the relations have been strained, they were so at the time in 1922. And yet Poland enacted the law about autonomy. How can she now set aside the law which was passed in strained relations?

If the relations have been strained, they were so in 1923, when the Council of the Allied Ambassadors met at Paris and acknowledged the Polish occupation of Eastern Galicia as permanent, but confirmed Poland's promise of autonomy for Eastern Galicia as an international obligation. Can Poland now justly set aside the obligation under the pretext of the strained relations which were strained at the time of making that contract?

If Poland wants to have the freedom to refuse the law of autonomy because the relations between the two races are strained, then have the Ukrainians the right to refuse their loyalty to the Polish State, because their relations with the Poles continue to be strained? The contract must obligate both parties, and not leave one side with all the safeguards, the other side with all the obligations and no safeguards.

And if only one of the contracting parties should have the right to cancel the agreement, should this right be granted to Poland, who occupied the Ukrainian provinces by the force of arms, then voluntarily promised the Ukrainians provincial autonomy and finally could refuse when asked to sign an international agreement to that effect?

And should this right be denied to the Ukrainian nationals of Poland, who were pressed into Polish citizenship by the force of arms, who were induced to stay loyal to the government of foreign

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\* Even during the "pacification", Mr. Tadeusz Marynowski, the Polish consul of Buffalo, N. Y., wrote in the "Buffalo Evening News", October 29, 1930, that the Ukrainian people are loyal and unsympathetic to the revolutionary organization.



occupation by means of the promises of autonomy, and who were not asked if they want to exchange loyalty for autonomy?\*

If it is hopeless to expect the working of the autonomous institutions, why does Poland still keep them on her statute books? Why does Poland advertise the beauty of her political system by pointing out to her system of local autonomy by such statements as the following, taken from THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK FOR THE YEAR 1930, edited by M. Epstein, MacMillan and Co., London, 1930, which surely is based upon the Polish official sources:

"The Polish Constitution provides for the granting of a wide measure of autonomy to County Councils. The County of Silesia received a large measure of autonomy by the constitutional law of July 15, 1920. The Silesian Sejm (Diet), elected in November, 1922, consists of 48 deputies, 34 Polish and 14 German. The autonomous rights of the Counties of Lwow, Tarnopol and Stanislawow, were formulated in the law of September 26, 1922."

Or, if this statement does not appear a truly official Polish statement, then the following statement contained in a letter written by Mr. Tadeusz Marynowski, the Polish consul at Buffalo, New York, to the Buffalo Evening News, will surely have all the earmarks of an official declaration:

"On Oct. 24, there appeared in your valuable paper an article signed by Negley Farson, your special correspondent in Berlin, in which article Poland is charged with cruel treatment of the Ukrainians in the provinces of South-eastern Poland.

"To anyone familiar with the actual conditions prevailing there, the article must have come as a surprise. It has for long been a well established tradition that Poland has always accorded the most liberal treatment to her racial minorities. The Ukrainian people are by no means an exception in that well established policy.

"On the contrary, they have enjoyed and are still enjoying privileges often to a greater extent than other minorities, although Poland is not bound by any international obligations concerning the so-called Galicia's autonomy and the League of Nations never touched upon this subject, being concerned solely with minority treaties which Poland is always conscientiously and faithfully have executed.

"They enjoy the full benefits of the Polish system of local self-government. Out of 78,110 elective offices in the province of Southwestern Poland, 49,501

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\* This seems to be the conclusion of the Polish official class. Mr. Tadeusz Marynowski, the Polish consul of Buffalo, New York, states plainly in his letter to the "Buffalo Evening News", quoted above:

"Poland is not bound by any international obligations concerning the so-called Galician autonomy".

The London Times correspondent strangely enough omits any reference to this attitude of the Polish government, but instead curtly pleads for Poland considerations of peace and order.

are held by Ukrainians. In the free professions and in the civil service they occupy numerous and important positions.”\*

And if the autonomous diet for Silesia is working in spite of the fact that the relations between the Poles and the Germans of that province continue to be strained, on what ground shall one give up all hopes in the working efficiency of autonomous bodies in Galicia? In what way are the conditions in Eastern Galicia so much worse that this justifies Poland to refuse to carry out her obligations, and who is to judge if the conditions are so much worse that Poland should be given the right to break her promises? Is Poland alone to judge if she is entitled to break her promises?

What proofs has Poland to show that autonomous institutions would not have been able to work if the institutions have not been tried? Could Poland or anybody else be so sure beyond all shadow of doubt that the relations would not have been improved if Poland had tried to carry out honestly her obligations and promises made before the people concerned and before the whole world?

If such a reasoning would be suspected as a Ukrainian opinion,—though such an opinion should have as much claim for consideration as the Polish opinion taken by the London Times correspondent as his own,—then why do some Polish newspapers and publicists entertain the same opinion?

Mr. Alexander Bochenski, a well-known Polish publicist, writing in the Cracow “Czas” (Times), gives very plainly to understand that he sees all the grounds to expect the relations between

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\* The “Buffalo Evening News”, October 29, 1930.

The consul’s statement was answered by a Ukrainian statement, made by Rev. Eustace Sydoriak, Pastor of St. John Baptist Greek Catholic Church, of Syracuse, New York:

“In this statement the consul says that there are 49,501 elective offices held by Ukrainian people in the Polish government, but these offices are of minor importance, such as town officers in entirely Ukrainian settlements. Take, for example, the representation in the Sejm. There is a total of about 28,000,000 inhabitants in Poland, of which about 8,000,000 are Ukrainian people. The districts are so distributed in Poland that these 8,000,000 have only 21 representatives out of 444 in the Sejm, which 21 members include White Russian representatives, and in the Senate four out of 111.” (The “Post-Standard”, Syracuse, December 6, 1930.)

The statement places appropriately the two kinds of autonomy: the local bodies and the Sejm: if the argument of widening tension between races is good for provincial autonomy, it should be also good for the Sejm.

the Poles and the Ukrainians improved if the various Polish promises had been honestly carried out.\*

And here the "Ameryka-Echo", a popular Polish weekly in America, in its issue dated November 30, 1930, says:

"Instead of winning over those people, instead of fulfilling towards them all the requirements which Poland had undertaken in her international treaties, instead of satisfying the needs of the Ukrainian and the Lithuanian people, instead of giving them schools, allowing the peasantry to buy off the large landed estates, Poland transmutes the Orthodox churches of those peoples into Catholic temples, builds Polish schools, Latin chapels and churches grow there like mushrooms after a rain, the people are forced by violent methods to turn Poles and love Poland. In 1922, the Polish Sejm in Warsaw passed a law that in Lviv a Ukrainian university should be built, within two years, that is before the end of 1924, and here six years have already passed by and of the opening of a Ukrainian university nobody cares, nobody even gives a passing thought. In view of this, the Ukrainians, finding no fulfilment of their own national demands on their own dunghills, against their own will throw themselves into the arms of their neighbors. There is nothing astonishing in this since those who cannot find happiness at home, usually look for it outside of it."

To be sure, both the statement of the "Ameryka-Echo" and the statement of Mr. A. Bochenski are expressions not of facts,

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\* The "Dilo", Ukrainian daily, of Lviv, December 24, 1930, published the following article:

#### THE WHITE RAVEN

We call a white raven on the horizon of the Polish press, an article on the Ukrainian problem in Poland, which was published by the Cracow newspaper "Czas", conservative, pro-government daily, in its issue of December 18, 1930. The author of this article is Mr. Alexander Bochenski, who, too, has to be considered a rarity among the Polish publicists and politicians. Mr. Alexander Bochenski has already raised his voice publicly in these matters more than once. He wrote his article on Ukrainian matters, or, to be more exact, on the questions of the relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Poland, both in the columns of the Vilna monarchist "Slowo" and on the pages of the pro-government "Kurjer Wilenski", and even on the pages of the "Gazeta Poranna" of Lviv, but he has never treated the subject so clearly as in the above mentioned article in the "Czas", stating the problem as has no other Polish politician or publicist.

In view of the fact that Ukrainian publications are often confiscated for reprints from Polish newspapers, especially those dealing with Ukrainian affairs, we will not quote at this time the article of the "Czas" directly from it, but will limit ourselves to reprinting only that section which was reprinted by the Lviv news-



but of opinion. But so is the statement of the London Times correspondent. And they are very significant statements since they cannot be suspected of being partizan as coming from the Ukrainian side. Though they might be termed Ukrainophil in their nature, still they are both statements of the Poles, who surely consider the interests of their race the supreme public interest,

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paper "Chwila" (Jewish) in its issue of December 20, namely that part of it which was not censored.

"To understand,"—we read there,—“why an average Ukrainian, though well aware of the fanaticism of separatism, is still an enemy of Poland, let us transfer ourselves for a moment into his position. Let us suppose that Eastern Galicia is under the reign of Ukraine and that the Poles have here such rights as now the Ukrainians have (under Poland). Why, the land east of the San river has about 50% Ukrainian population, or more. Let us suppose that the district self-governing bodies are appointed by the Government and that the Poles are removed from them as a matter of principle. That all higher administrative offices are taken by Ukrainians. That in the administrative offices the Polish language is prohibited. That Polish schools number but 700, Ukrainian 2,300, that there are only 3 Polish and 36 Ukrainian teachers' colleges, with high schools in the same ratio. Let us suppose that to learn Polish one must emigrate to Prague or Kharkov. That on all the state buildings, and so on, there are exclusively Ukrainian signs. That Polish colors and emblems are prohibited. That high school students are imprisoned for singing the Polish national anthem. That Poles are punished for celebrating requiem-masses for the Poles fallen in the war against the Ukrainians. What are the Poles doing against all this? Burning down Ukrainian stacks? Surely not. But they also do not proclaim to the world their loyalty to Ukraine. They are merely waiting for a situation to arise which would help them to shake off this vexatious regime. This is the essence of the problem. It is not enough for us that the Ukrainians stop hurling bombs at our Eastern Fairs. We must make the Ukrainian mass really loyal. This is at present out of the question.

“The Poles often deny this state of affairs and dupe themselves with the illusion that the minorities enjoy special fictitious rights, which they do not enjoy anywhere else. We charge even the Polish government with supporting the Ukrainians and suppressing the Polish element in Eastern Galicia. We advise those to go for theoretic studies to the Polish Statistical Annual, and for practical



and want Poland prosperous, strong and happy. If they refuse to accept the policy of the Polish government towards the Ukrainians as a policy about which no doubts should be entertained, how can the London Times correspondent make out for that policy the claim of infallibility?

And if prominent and sober-minded Poles have serious doubts as to the expediency of the Polish governmental policy towards

experience to the supreme office of any district. To learn what rights are enjoyed by minorities, it will suffice to go to Karlsbad and see how the Czechs treat the Germans. But many of our politicians know the state of affairs, and yet they defend it. And many know it, and condemn it in principle, but support it in practice for fear lest concessions should make the situation worse and strengthen the Ukrainian irridenta.

"The Polish national-democratic faction, as well as the East-Galician section of the government party B.B. have propagated openly a complete racial assimilation of the Ukrainians by means of the limitations of their rights. At the bottom of this program, as far as the Polish national-democrats are concerned, there lies the thought, contemptuous and dangerous, that within the confines of Poland only Poles can live. Today this doctrine manifests itself in an animosity towards the Ukrainians, but not so long ago, as a leading principle, was recognized Dmowski's idea that the borderland should be left to Russia. Historically speaking, the experience (of which the Poles themselves had been an object) teaches that assimilation by endowing minorities with wide political and cultural liberties gives better results than racial assimilation carried on by force. And Poland's geographic situation is such that in order to preserve our national independence we must weaken one of the two powerful neighbors. Because Russia is better adapted for that purpose we must regulate our relations with the Ukrainians and in such a manner that we should not weaken the Ukrainians in Russia. The internal unity of Poland, the unity which perhaps will never be attained, and if it will be attained, then only at the price of great efforts,—will never counterbalance those losses which we would suffer in the downfall of the Ukrainian movement in Russia.

"Our thesis therefore, is, that Polonization is not necessary to safeguard the peace and loyalty of Eastern Galicia. We should rather think that the Ukrainians will take towards Poland a favorable attitude when they receive a minimum of political and cultural liberties. This is proved not only by manifold historic experiences, but also by the psychology of the Ukrainian movement, which in

the Ukrainians, wasn't it advisable for an outsider to inquire further why is it that some Poles entertain those doubts and the Polish government admits not a slightest doubt? Perhaps, the Polish government has some additional premises which are not

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the case of an average Ukrainian is no separatism, but merely a revolt against a regime under which it is impossible to live.

"And if Polonization is necessary, then is it possible? No, it is not. The Polonization of the Ukrainians so far advanced in their racial consciousness, is already impossible. It may be different in Polisy. There an energetic Polonization may bring some results. In Eastern Galicia it is already too late for this. The Poles have to choose between oppressing the Ukrainians and striking an understanding between the two races.

"We must therefore create a great and exhaustive program of the solution of the Ukrainian problem in Poland. First, the self-government must be reformed. Democracy, which has held sway in Poland for ten years, has imbued us with the conviction of the superiority of the majority over the minority to such a degree that it became impossible to solve theoretically the problem of self-government in a country with racially mixed population. To start with, we must reject all our prejudices. . . .

"In the present tension it is difficult to expect any Polish parliament to undertake such an unpopular reform. Therefore, until this will become possible, work should be done amidst the Polish society itself in order to prepare it for understanding those Ukrainians, so near and yet so distant. And before all, it is necessary to realize clearly, once for all, whether the Ukrainian problem exists and what is its essence. Only then will it become possible to take a seat at a conference table."

In reading the above lines one should not forget for a moment that they were written by a Polish patriot, from whom it is difficult to expect an absolute impartiality in such a complex matter. The author of the article quoted, though well aware of the tragedy of the situation, still has, today, no courage to offer a full program for the solution of the problem. But the very fact that he stated and brought to light this painful question in this way, behooves us to respect him and his deliberations. We should not forget that he has the courage to tackle this problem at the moment when in his nation a bestial chauvinism and a madcap Ukrainophobia is celebrating a true triumph.

("DILO", Ukrainian daily, Lviv, December 24, 1930.)

visible at once, and which should be disclosed by an honest outside inquiry?

It cannot help the London Times correspondent to claim an especially conciliatory spirit for Marshal Pilsudski. Pilsudski's alliance with the Ukrainian Ataman Petlura is a fact, and Pilsudski's ill-fated march on Kiev is a fact, but the meaning which the correspondent imputes to these facts is not a fact, but an evaluation, an opinion. Many Poles refuse to accept that evaluation, and surely many Ukrainians. If the opinion of the Galician Ukrainians is to be disregarded, then surely the opinion of many close friends of Petlura that Pilsudski's alliance with Petlura was but a smoke screen for Pilsudski's imperialistic expansion into Ukrainian provinces surely deserves some consideration, especially as this was the opinion of the Ukrainian masses around Kiev, a fact, which caused the debacle of the whole campaign and alliance.

If the correspondent of the London Times claims that the policy of the Ukrainians during the last decade have rendered conciliatory intervention by the Polish government futile, he should adduce facts to show those conciliatory interventions of the central Polish government. The reader of an English paper, reading of such conciliatory interventions by the central government is likely to think of something like the London round-table conference on India, or some other similar open discussion of the differences and a similar patent proposition for defining the safeguards and responsibilities of each party. The correspondent has not quoted one such conciliatory intervention, unless he meant by it the law of autonomy for Eastern Galicia, and he did not do it because he could not do it, as the central Polish government has not made even one such conciliatory intervention, unless again it was the autonomy of Eastern Galicia, proposed by the Poles, enacted by the Poles, and tossed to the wind as a scrap of paper, by the Poles.

In view of this, what value has the correspondent's statement that all the conciliatory intervention by the Polish government (which might have taken place, but has not taken place) were made futile by the Ukrainian attitude? To have that value it must first be admitted as the statement of a Polish attitude. Though many Poles and the Polish government subscribe to it, still it cannot be said to be the only Polish attitude. At least some Poles reject it as a true evaluation of the Ukrainian situation. Hence again it was worth while to inquire deeper, why it is that the Polish government thinks that all reconciliatory intervention on its part would be futile?

The London Times correspondent also tries to help himself out by suggesting in another manner the alleged conciliatory spirit of Marshal Pilsudski's government: he says that Marshal Pilsudski has difficulties in getting the Galician Poles to treat the Ukrainians as equals. That the Galician Poles, having enjoyed at the hands of the Austrian government the privileges of mastership over the Ukrainians,—privileges, which they referred to the inveterate "higher" position of their race,—that the Galician Poles could not, and still cannot, be made to treat the Ukrainians as equals, is a fact. That an occasional disagreement arises between Marshal Pilsudski and the Galician Poles, is also true. That occasionally ultra-chauvinistic Poles charge the Polish government with leniency towards the Ukrainians, is also true, but it is also true that the most chauvinistic of the Galician Poles, the Polish National-Democratic Party (the "All-Poles") are in unison with the Polish government in the belief that the policy towards the Ukrainians should admit no conciliation with them. That a considerable section of the Polish National-Democrats side with Pilsudski's government just because the government realizes the program of this party could be verified by many articles from the Polish National-Democratic press. That a section of the Galician All-Poles is still not satisfied with Marshal Pilsudski's Ukrainian policy is no proof of the Marshal's conciliatory spirit, but of the completely insensible fanaticism of those Ukrainophobes. And if this statement is to be suspected as coming from the Ukrainian, let us see the comment which such a recognized Polish patriot as Mr. Alexander Bochenski has to say about those Poles who like to charge the Polish government with supporting the Ukrainians. Mr. Bochenski testifies to the fact that the Polish National-Democratic Party and the East-Galician section of the government party are in agreement as to the Ukrainian policy: they both propagated openly the policy of racial assimilation of the Ukrainians.

#### THE SECOND PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNING STATED

In this we find the principle of policy which the correspondent of the London Times omits persistently with the result that the reader cannot understand why one group of Poles considers one policy subject to no slightest doubt while another group of Poles, basing on the same facts, arrives at a completely different conclusion.

The opposition between the two principles was stated now and then with completeness. The "Czas", the Cracow conservative



paper, writing at the beginning of October, 1930, of the punitive expeditions in Eastern Galicia, presents the conflict clearly in the following statement:

"It would be erroneous to think that even the breaking up of the central leadership of the Ukrainian Military Organization or of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists would be a sufficient method to cure that painful wound of the racial relations in Eastern Galicia. This is namely one of the most painful wounds of the Polish nation, which the Poles must cure in an accelerating tempo. As it is well known, there are two prescriptions and two methods of curing this wound. One of them consists in the program of more or less secret Polonization of the Ukrainians, another in granting them racial autonomy according to the law of 1922, and according to the principles contained in various international treaties.

"Our paper is an ardent opponent of the policy of Polonization, both an open and a hidden Polonization, which is favored especially by Polish nationalists. We consider this policy unjust as it would lead to the persecution of the Ukrainian race similar to the Germanization of the Poles in Germany and to the Russification of the Poles in Tsarist Russia. We also consider it a futile policy. Not even Mr. Grabski and Mr. Dmowski\*, nor any other of the All-Polish publicists would succeed in Polonizing the Ukrainians if placed at the head of the Polish government—just as the Poles were not denationalized by Bismarck or Buelow or Gurko. To be sure, the Ukrainians have a culture lower from that of the Poles of Prussia and Russia; but it is also true that Prussia and Russia had a denationalizing machine much superior to the one we have. And still they failed to denationalize us.

"We are the adherents of the second program, namely that of the racial autonomy according to the existing, though still only on paper, law of 1922. It is not in our interest that the Ukrainian people, who inhabit with us the land from the Zbruch river to the San river and who have so many qualities similar to ours and so many sympathetic traits, should all sink in the tenets of revolt. It is not in our interest that the Ukrainians should experience greater difficulties in taking part in the great stream of races, so far lulled to sleep, now awakening. The program of racial autonomy, equal and fair for both races, and sincerely carried out, would remove the very support from under the feet of rebellion. The race, before whom spread prospects of a successful organic work over themselves, will not follow the policy of sabotage, arsons and murders, since they know that they can lose by it. Organic policy is the best antidote against all such ideas and against slavery, as we know this well from our own political experience gathered in the late province of Galicia, as well as in other corners of the world.

"From the very beginning of the resurrected Polish nation, that is for eleven years, the Ukrainian problem has stood in Poland at a dead-still. Neither Polonization nor autonomy! There was so far no government firm enough, strong enough, resolute enough to try to solve this problem in one or the other spirit. The problem has turned into a bog on whose treacherous surface bloom poisonous flowers. The government of Marshal Pilsudski has sufficient amount

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\* Mr. Stanislaw Grabski and Mr. Roman Dmowski—two leaders of the Polish National-Democratic party, the most chauvinistic Polish party. Mr. Grabski, served in several Polish cabinets. Dmowski was Polish representative at the Paris conference.

of authority and power which it has so far failed to use for the purpose of drying up this bog. And the reform of the Polish constitution, which approaches with such necessity and which must be carried out as soon as possible if the nation is not to fall, should comprise also the problem of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. Let the government regulate those relations properly, that is without losses and dangers of the Polish element, which has inhabited this fertile land on the Dniester for more than a thousand years, but also to the benefit of the Ukrainian people. Let the government safeguard against and free this people from the prevailing primitive strife and create the foundations for a peaceful Polish-Ukrainian co-existence. Let it introduce a political culture where so far triumphs only political barbarism."

### WHY IS AUTONOMY TREATY A MERE SCRAP OF PAPER TO POLAND

Only the stubborn insistence of the Polish public and government upon a program of assimilation can explain the strange practices of the Polish government towards the racial minorities. Without considering this leitmotif the behavior of Poland towards East Galicia becomes either a behavior of irresponsible people or a sample of unmotivated cynical perfidy. The behavior can be understood only from the standpoint of the policy of denationalization of non-Polish races. From it, the enactment of the law of Eastern Galician autonomy, then the undertaking of explicit obligations by Poland before other nations to carry the law into effect, and finally the refusal to carry it out,—all these acts, so contradictory, become merely a series of logical links in the chain of the same policy. The first two acts were done to gain the recognition from the Allied and Associated Powers of the occupation of Eastern Galicia, and the law and obligations about the autonomy were not carried out as this would strengthen the Ukrainian race and counteract the Polish efforts to assimilate the Ukrainians into the Polish race. If the informants of the London Times correspondent, instead of saying that autonomous institutions tend to widen the area of friction, which is disproved by the experience of all the nations which honestly have undertaken such efforts, and of the Anglo-Saxon peoples especially, had said that autonomy would impede the Poles in their program of denationalization of the Ukrainians, they would have stated the truth which would elucidate the Eastern Galician situation.

Without keeping in mind this Polish program of assimilation of non-Polish races, the reader cannot properly understand the Polish charge, taken by the correspondent of the London Times for his, that the Ukrainians are fundamentally disloyal to the Polish State.

In order to substantiate the charge, the correspondent quotes a person to the effect that the Ukrainians are fundamentally disloyal to the Polish state because friendly cooperation with the Poles would make the Ukrainians cease to cherish the dream of an independent Ukraine. That such a statement might have been made is impossible, and not this is worthy of attention, but the use which the correspondent makes of it, namely to prove that the Ukrainians are fundamentally disloyal. To make such a use, the correspondent makes out of the author of this statement one of the most representative of Ukrainian leaders. As the correspondent omits to give the author's name, we have no foundation to judge how representative he is of the Ukrainian leaders; what party would stand behind his loose talk about such dangerous matters as loyalty to the state and peace and cooperation with the Poles; even if he is a Ukrainian at all when he makes a statement that is susceptible of a very damaging interpretation. If the man is really one of the most representative of Ukrainian leaders, is greatly doubtful since at the time when the London Times correspondent was making his inquiry, all the most representative Ukrainian leaders were imprisoned in the fortress of Brest. Finally, to give the readers of the London Times a hint of the kind of argument the paper's correspondent makes let them suppose that at a moment when the Indian delegates to the London round-table conference on India were on their way home, a London correspondent of an Indian newspaper reported to his readers that he knows it on authority of a most representative of English statesmen (whose name is not given) that England does not care for peace in India, or for friendly cooperation with the Hindoos, in fact, that she wants only to break every promise made to India.

As the declaration stands, it is contradicted by history. Nobody knows it so well as the Poles themselves that loyalty to the State does not exclude cherishing the dream of an independent secessionist state; they declared again and again their loyalty not only to Austria, but even to Russia and Germany, and still never gave up the dream of independent Poland. And such things are known in the history of other races. It is evident from this that the Poles are not satisfied with such a loyalty towards Poland on the part of the Ukrainians, with which they themselves had treated Austria, Russia, and Germany. It is not the usual civil loyalty, entailing obedience to the laws of the land, payment of taxes, the service in the army, but something more, namely the guarantee that they will never secede from the Polish State, drop all the



dreams of an independent state,—a thing which the Poles themselves considered an arrogant demand when it was made to them by the old empires.

In view of this contradiction it is safe to assume that what the Polish officials understand by loyalty to Poland is something completely different than a mere civic loyalty to the State, the kind an average reader of English newspapers understands when reading the phrase. The meaning of the word should be supplemented by the premises of the Polish policy as understood by those officials who made the charge of disloyalty. The London Times correspondent himself gives us to understand that by loyalty to Poland is to be understood the abandonment of the program of secession, and the acceptance of the program of home-rule.

He charges, however, that the Ukrainians are not home-rulers, but secessionists. He charges that Ukrainian extremists succeeded in intimidating the moderate home-rulers from making their peace with the Poles. That the Ukrainians were not home-rulers, but extremist secessionists, may be admitted, as far as the period ending March 15, 1923, is concerned. As long as the disposition of Eastern Galicia was not settled definitely, the Eastern Galician Ukrainians continued to demand full independence from Poland, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of nationalities as proclaimed by the Allies, since every home-rule movement would be at once seized by Poland as an argument for the recognition of her military occupation of the country. The Ukrainians refused to take part in the elections to the Polish parliament at Warsaw, they boycotted the Polish census of 1921, and they tried to evade the service in the Polish army. However, after the Allies, in their decision of March 15, 1923, had recognized the forceful occupation of Galicia, against the unanimous stand of the Ukrainians, as permanent and legal, the old intransigent position was soon modified. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian National-Democratic party proclaimed openly the realistic program of home-rule. He argued that the Polish occupation should be recognized as a hard fact of real life. He pointed out to the promises of autonomy by Poland and her international guarantees of that autonomy. He pointed to the importance of the governmental machine for the life of the people. The importance of financial support for Ukrainian cultural, economic, and sporting institutions was stressed. He succeeded in winning to his side a group of active politicians, who came to the conclusion that it was better for the Ukrainians as a race to have open dealings with the government than to allow irresponsible individuals make se-



cret compromises with individual government officials. Eventually the convention of the Ukrainian National-Democratic party took the similar realistic attitude.

#### POLAND DISREGARDS UKRAINIAN COMPROMISE OFFER

This was a great opportunity of the Polish government to attain the purpose set to Poland by the Allied Powers. But the Polish government simply did nothing to make the Ukrainian compromise real. The Ukrainian critics of the new policy did not debate the issue of loyalty to Poland. Such an issue could not be discussed freely. The proponents and the opponents limited the issue to the very practical question of the day if the Ukrainians could find a "modus vivendi" with the Poles. This the proponent group held as possible, while the opponents of the new policy pointed to the entire history of the Polish attitude towards the Ukrainians to prove that the Poles have never taken towards the Ukrainians any other than an uncompromising attitude. To be sure, Poland had promised the Ukrainians great liberties and rights, but she has never redeemed her pledges. She shows no signs at present, they said, that she has changed her mood. The opponents pointed out that no conciliation is possible with one side willing for the compromise. A conciliation and a contract requires two sides, and a Ukrainian-Polish compromise is impossible because of the irreconcilable attitude of the Poles and the Polish government. The proponents of the compromise had a hard time: they were to lose by the very fact of Polish inactivity. And still the Polish government did nothing to help them, as if it were seized with a malicious desire to disprove every premise of the "home-rulers" and to prove every point of their opponents. The Polish press wrote day after day, week after week, that Poland must have the solution of the Ukrainian problem not on Ukrainian terms, but only on the Polish terms. No Ukrainian promises were enough to guarantee the Ukrainian loyalty to Poland. No party program and no convention resolution could safeguard Poland against the Ukrainian secessionism. That guarantee could be had only on the terms dictated by Poland, and those conditions required that every Ukrainian should cease to be a Ukrainian and assimilate with the Polish race. Amidst such atmosphere the efforts of the Ukrainian home-rulers died a natural death. The Ukrainian National-Democrats soon gave up their position, and the proponent of the compromise died of his own hand.

The failure of the movement was a great lesson to the Ukrainians. Now everybody realized that no compromise with the Polish side was possible, or to say the least, it was not in sight. Now the sober, realistic view demanded the recognition of the hard fact of life that the Ukrainians had to expect from the Polish race or the Polish nation no understanding, sympathy or recognition of their natural desires or claims. The Polish government was evidently unwilling to grant even that minimum of rights which were guaranteed by the Polish constitution, Polish statutes and Polish international obligations. While in some quarters a despair set in, which pushed some individuals to secret dealings with the Poles, and others to desperate revolutionary enterprises, the great bulk of the Ukrainian people set out to work their own destiny without any help of the government, by their own means, by their own work, patience, and self-denial. If the government denies us help and assistance, they argued, then we have to get along without it. If the Polish nation opposes us, well, we have to take this animosity as a hard fact of real life and still carry on our work.

Thus began the feverish work in Ukrainian cultural societies, private schools, sporting clubs, and before all in Ukrainian cooperatives. They had to begin at the very bottom, since the country was devastated by years of the war and was far behind in reconstruction because of this unsettled conflict between the two races. It appeared to some a hopeless task to start from so simple beginnings. But still the work went on, and soon could show first successes, which in turn became encouragement for further work. That is why the failure of the "home-rulers" must be considered such a great lesson for the Ukrainian movement.

The Polish side has completely misunderstood the lesson of those developments. Having buried the Ukrainian conciliatory efforts by their own inactivity, the Poles now rejoiced in pointing out that the Ukrainian public policy does not look forward to reconciliation with the Poles. The Ukrainian conclusions about self-help, about building the life upon their own efforts, were met from the Polish side with sneers: if the Poles have such a hard time with the reconstruction of the country in spite of the support from their government, what will the Ukrainians be able to accomplish without the help of any government? Even when the first fruits of Ukrainian hard work, persistence, self-denial showed themselves, the Poles refused to believe. But when the work continued to grow, the Polish press and public raised a cry of alarm: the Polish state of possessions were threatened by the Ukrainian aggression. The Polish government was called upon to intercede in Polish favor, to save the Polish dominion. The

constructive, positive work of the Ukrainians was again forcing the Poles to think about the Ukrainian problem. Again rose before the Polish public the problem what attitude should be taken towards the Ukrainians.

### ASSIMILATION OR CONCILIATION?

Again two programs offered themselves, two programs which are already known to the reader: the program of reconciliation with the Ukrainians and the irreconcilable program of assimilation. The adherents of the program of reconciliation tried to allay Polish fears of Ukrainian secessionism by pointing to the example of Switzerland, where three different races exist side by side within one state, without gravitating to the people of the same race outside of the border, but the example of Switzerland was evidently far less appealing to the Poles than the patterns of governmental behavior known to them from the experiences with the Russians and Germans, and the plan of "Switzerlandization" was laughed out of court. The English examples had simply no chance with the Poles because of the Polish consciousness of the English critical attitude towards the oppressive methods of government practiced by Poland.

Now and then Polish writers, publicists, and historians call the attention of the Polish assimilators that the program of assimilation by such methods is impossible of attainment. That no race in the world would agree, at the command of another race, to give up at once all those activities, attitudes and tendencies by which she came about to be distinguished from her neighbors. Polish assimilators persisted stubbornly in their demands. If the Ukrainians refuse to do it voluntarily, they have to be compelled to it by force.

Now and then sober Poles pointed to the improbability that the Ukrainians, one of the numerically largest races in Europe, would ever think of committing such a racial suicide, but the more they pointed to the number of the Ukrainians, the more painfully did Polish assimilators feel the comparative numerical weakness of the Polish race. Sober Poles have pointed out that Poland, though much weaker in numbers than Ukraine, has never thought of racial suicide, but this merely encourages Polish assimilators to assimilate the more arrogantly so as to find a guarantee in greater numbers. The opponents of the assimilatory program pointed out to the unfavorable light in which the Poles are placed by denying other races the same rights which they have so vociferously claimed for themselves. But this merely brings out a



smile of contempt on the faces of assimilators, as if to say: that is just why we assimilate,—that we may not care for the opinion of the world. Polish historians have several times told the Poles that the old powerful Kingdom of Poland had fallen because of its expansionist, imperialistic, assimilatory policy, and yet the new Polish leaders could not refrain from the policy of expansion into non-Polish territories, and from the policy of assimilation after they get hold of non-Polish provinces.

The Polish official policy remained the same, and the "Lwowski Kurjer Codzienny's" following article, published in the first days of September, 1930, expressed the current Polish opinion which has prevailed from the very moment of Poland's rebirth to this time:

"We do not deny that the Ukrainian movement's influence among the Ruthenians is growing, and the most important moment in the Polish appraisal of the Ukrainianism is the fact that it is dangerous and even menacing to the Polish nation.

"For the people who view phenomena from a historico-national standpoint, the fact that a phenomenon has a negative value for their principle should be sufficient criterion. Such a principle for us, Poles, is the eternal annexation of Eastern Little Poland to Poland. The Ukrainian national movement denies this—hence the Ukrainian movement must be of necessity combated."

The same newspaper wrote frankly against any reconciliation with the Ukrainians. Having divided the Ukrainians into Ukrainians proper who are nationally conscious, and the Ruthenians, who are still unconscious of their Ukrainian nationality, the Polish organ argues that no conciliation with the Ukrainians is possible since every compromise with them will help only to decrease the number of the "peaceful Ruthenians", and no compromise is necessary with the "peaceful and moderate Ruthenians" since they have no demands.

"Does it follow from this that no conciliation is needed?"—asks the "Lwowski Kurjer Poranny." It answers, with an emphatic "yes".\*

#### THE USE OF RACIAL NAME PROSCRIBED

The harder the Ukrainians worked, the more positively they adapted themselves to the new conditions, the more constructively they solved the current problems of their life, the more extreme measures were used by the Polish government to combat them. It would lead us far beyond the scope of this book to deal even

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\* The translation is made from the literal translation in the Ukrainian triweekly "Novy Chas" (The New Times), Lviv, September 12, 1930.



passingly of these matters. Those, however, touched or suggested by the London Times correspondent have to be dealt with, at least in short. The correspondent uses in the entire course of his report the term "Ukrainians". In view of his sympathies not only with the Polish government but even with the harshest methods used by that government, some readers might be led into believing that this is the official nomenclature used by the Polish government.\* Of course, such use would not be a proof of the recognition or support of the Ukrainian movement by the Polish government, as it surely is one of the most elementary recognitions to permit the people of a race to call themselves by the name they choose themselves. Alas, this is not the case with the Ukrainians in Poland. A special campaign against the use of the word "Ukrainian" was inaugurated by the Polish government, press and public. A tremendous amount of time, money and efforts was wasted upon that Polish campaign. The name was driven out of the Ukrainian school books by the order of the "curator" of the schools in

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\* Polish representatives abroad work hard to keep up that impression. Mr. Marynowski, Buffalo, New York, consul of Poland, in his letter to the "Buffalo Evening News" (published October 29, 1930) used persistently the terms the "Ukrainian people of Poland" and the "Ukrainian language". He said in his statement:

"You will perhaps recall that in the year 1924, by a series of laws, their language had been declared an official language for all purposes. By the same laws they have been given all facilities to cultivate their national individuality. They have their own schools where Ukrainian is the language of instruction and all Polish schools and universities have a fair percentage of Ukrainian students".

The statement of Mr. Tytus Filipowicz, as published by the "Nowy Swiat" of New York, and reprinted in this book on pp. 18 and 19, is illuminatingly evasive on this point. He speaks of friendly relations between peoples, of racial minorities, but never mentions their name.

More light is thrown upon the subject by semi-official or unofficial Polish propagandists abroad who allow themselves to speak against the use of the name of Ukrainians. A wide publicity was given in America to the statement of Mr. Roy Lee Ellis, in which he states:

"There is no distinct or separate Ukrainian nation there. Ruthenians and Poles living there are so mixed by blood that there is no pure Ukrainian blood. . . . Ukrainians considered themselves Poles as late as the last century. . . . The alleged Ukrainian nation is artificially created, and under the name of Ukrainian one must understand a Ruthenian. Ruthenians even now stand on the lowest level of culture. Idealistic intelligentsia they do not possess at all, and all provocateurs of the Ukrainian movement are not working for ideals, but for their own material gains, being paid by Moscow and Berlin. . . ." (cf. New York Herald Tribune, October 26, 1930.)

the district of Lviv\*. Ukrainian teachers and priests were hailed to Polish court for the use of that name. Even a paper was suppressed for the only "crime" of using the word "Ukrainian".\*\* Naturally, the entire campaign of the Polish government and public failed to attain its purpose: the Ukrainians refused to give up their national name just because the Poles wish them to, and the Polish campaign has had no other effect but a useless irritation of the Ukrainian people.\*\*\*

As Mr. Alexander Bochenski points out, the Polish public has never changed their attitude. As is clearly evident from his article it requires a great courage for a Polish publicist to say in Poland that if the Ukrainians are to be won for Poland, all the efforts at their denationalization should be discontinued and they should be offered an opportunity to develop freely their talents and resources. The Polish government has not shown even that much courage as is exhibited by Mr. Bochenski: it floated with the current. It never made one constructive approach to solve the

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\* The decree of Mr. Sobinski, the Polish "Curator" of schools of the district of Lviv, dated, Lviv, March 2, 1924, No. 590, reads:

"The educational institutions which use the Ruthenian language for instruction shall use in the future, in their internal and external correspondence, in all official letters and school documents, in diplomas, official seals, etc., the name "Ruthenian," and not the name "Ukrainian". In case of violation of this decree such correspondence shall not be taken into consideration, and the institutions responsible for this shall bear the bitter consequences of such procedures".

It is noteworthy in this connection that previously to this the Ukrainian language was called by that name. Thus the Provincial Educational Council addressed a letter, dated January 16, 1920, to the "Management of the Ukrainian coeducation courses at the State Teachers College, in Lviv, Nabelaka street". The "new policy" seems to have been inaugurated with the recognition of the Polish occupation of Ukrainian provinces by the Council of Ambassadors, March 15, 1923.

\*\* The "Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, December 6, 1930, says in its article entitled "Surprises of Censorship": "Not long ago the censor suppressed an issue of our paper, after crossing out the word "Ukrainian". This was THE FIRST CASE OF THIS KIND SINCE THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS PAPER FIFTY-ONE YEARS AGO."

\*\*\* To illustrate further this "reconciliatory" attitude of the Polish government, made so much of by the London Times correspondent, let us give the literal translation of the Polish letter of the Polish postmaster of Brest, sent to the sender of a letter mailed from the town of Drohobych, on November 10, 1930, to Mr. Ivan Lishchynsky, ex-deputy of the Polish seym at Warsaw, then imprisoned in the military prison at Brest. The letter was returned to the sender with the following postmaster's note: "Brest-on-the-Bug, November 13, 1930. No. 171/30. I am returning this letter without forwarding it, for it is written in an unintelligible language and therefore cannot be read by the censor."

Ukrainian problem. Even the correspondent of the London Times can speak only of the conciliatory efforts from the Ukrainian side. All that the Polish government did was to hire various individuals of Ukrainian origin to do various acts intended by the Polish government to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian national movement, or to furnish Polish authorities with a pretext for persecutions and reprisals. Such individuals would be sent into Ukrainian organizations, to spy there, and then make false reports of alleged treasonable activities. Others would be used to publish Ukrainian newspapers or books directed against the Ukrainian movement. Still others would be paid to make public statements of provocative contents or denouncing the Ukrainian movement. All of them would receive from the Polish government pay or other personal favors, often exemption from criminal persecutions for thefts, embezzlement, robbery, or similar crimes, which they might commit against the Ukrainians. These were intimidated by Ukrainian revolutionists of the Ukrainian Military Organization. The intimidation was open and frank, and in several instances extreme. One may disagree with the methods used against these individuals, but cannot call them, by any stretch of imagination, "moderate home-rulers making their peace with the Poles". They are no peace-makers, no statesmen, no politicians. Their terms with the Polish government are secret, and do not aim at solving the problem, but at preventing the solution, at the continuation of the chaos. Their use was adopted by the Polish government primarily from the government of Russia, though the Polish revolutionists, headed by Pilsudski, had killed them outright as common spies and provocateurs. We may regret such incidents but it would help little to condemn them and to leave the system which produces them intact, as it is of little use to struggle against the symptoms of a disease without attacking the disease itself.

#### POLISH GOVERNMENT CREATES THE ATMOSPHERE OF LAWLESSNESS

The London Times correspondent, however, writes of the Ukrainian revolutionary organization as if in the background of it were England. He omits to mention what effect would have the sight of the government making public promises to millions of its population which it brushes away without as much as stirring a finger to carry them out. He omits completely to mention the whole political atmosphere of Poland, with complete lack of respect for the law on the part of the very organs called to carry out the law; with the public order being a mere excuse for per-



secutions and chicanery; with an official tyranny, that is a combination of all the tyrannies of the three empires. He omits to mention that the Polish government instills into the Ukrainian people the conviction that they are a pariah marked for destruction. He omits to mention that the Polish government has persecuted the Ukrainian cultural societies; that it has closed hundreds upon hundreds of Ukrainian schools; that it suppressed the Ukrainian press and other Ukrainian publications; that it not only refuses all governmental credit to, but often refuses to grant the very license to start Ukrainian cooperatives; that it takes away Ukrainian churches and strives to make the Ukrainian Uniat church into a weapon directed against the Ukrainian national movement. He omits to mention that the Polish government made expensive efforts to colonize Ukrainian provinces with colonists bought from western, truly Polish provinces. He omits finally to mention that the Polish government has not only tolerated, but abetted and helped with arms and money various armed pogrom organizations directed against the Ukrainian people.

He omits to mention that alongside with the revolutionary activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization, for which its members and outsiders were made to answer in courts, for which now the whole Ukrainian movement was made accountable, there have existed a Polish organization called "Strzelec", once a lethargic organization of the ex-service men, galvanized by Marshal Pilsudski after his military coup-d'etat, May, 1926, into an aggressive organization, entrusted with the duty to spy upon everybody not in agreement with the Marshal's policies, and empowered to carry out, with impunity, attacks upon those opponents. While this organization is free to act with impunity against any Poles opposing the Marshal's party, the Ukrainians are also opposed, spied upon, provoked, and made a victim of pogroms, by any other Polish party, organization, mob or rabble who only desires to vent its hatred or malice upon them. It has become the custom of Polish university students in Lviv to arrange, after every meeting, a parade to various Ukrainian societies and—to smash up their windows. No matter what happens somewhere in the country, Polish hoodlums attack the central offices of Ukrainian cooperatives in Lviv, break their signs, furnishings, automobiles, or attack Ukrainian bookstores, enlightenment societies, insurance societies, and the like. Very often the home offices of the Ukrainian societies are blown up by bombs. The Polish police arrive occasionally on the spot, draw a protocol of the damages, the experts ascertain by what means the damage was done in all probability, and that



is all that is done about it, unless an issue of a Ukrainian paper is suppressed for pointing to some culprits or demanding a thorough investigation.

These are all facts, and not mere statements made by reckless, irresponsible or anonymous Ukrainian politicians. Each of these facts may be proved by Polish testimony. Those to be found in this book will give an intimation what a full collection of such facts would be, if the scopes of this book permitted to treat of the matter in full.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the correspondent of the Times himself admits that the destruction of the buildings of Ukrainian institutions occurred in some places, and that it was the work of unauthorized individuals. It is only too bad that the correspondent has not satisfied his curiosity as to what the Polish government had done with those unauthorized individuals, who destroy the buildings of Ukrainian institutions, what was done to discover their individuality and to bring them to answer for their acts, or what was done to prevent similar occurrences in the future.

#### UKRAINIAN REVOLUTIONISTS

Having given not even an inkling to the reader to understand the atmosphere of distrust in the possibility and efficacy of the legal methods in Poland, out of which has grown the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, the London Times correspondent instead has furnished him with an array of what outwardly may appear to be facts, but under closer examination is nothing but the opinion of the Polish authorities, who are interested in concealment of that atmosphere. The correspondent vouches to his readers what is at the bottom of the Ukrainian Military Organization, among whom and what classes are to be found its recruits, by whom they are controlled, what organizations are used to screen allegiance to it, who is the chief, and whence are derived its funds and munitions.

As the organization is admittedly illegal and secret, an "underground" association, the authoritativeness of the correspondent is at least questionable. He surely could not have any access to learn the facts from the members of the organization. His only source could have been the statements of Polish officials or newspapermen. And he evidently swallowed every opinion of those circles, and presented it as his own. And those Polish officials, the various Polish prosecutors and experts of the Polish police on the Ukrainian Military Organization, who like to speak on the Organization, with such an authoritativeness, had been in the past forced

to correct again and again their statements made previously on the Organization. So it was also with the Polish Military Organization, headed by Jozef Pilsudski, now Marshal of Poland; various rumors used to be circulated about the organization, by Russian prosecutors posing as experts on it, but many of those alleged facts presented by them were disproved as lies and inventions. How different could it be with the Ukrainian Military Organization, whose very existence depends upon secrecy which cannot be broken by the very members themselves?

What evidence could the London Times correspondent offer to prove his allegations about the composition of the Ukrainian Military Organization? Quotations, perhaps, from some statements by the Polish minister of the Interior, of some Polish prosecutor, or some police "expert" on the Organization, or some gossip or rumors from a Polish Ukrainophobe paper? If such allegations may occasionally satisfy a Polish jury of the guilt of the accused Ukrainians, will they satisfy an intelligent reader of a great paper? The Polish Minister of the Interior in his reply to the Ukrainian petitions to the League of Nations has given the profession of 1739 Ukrainians, who had been detained for alleged participation in the revolutionary activities in 1930, but he himself admits that 596 of them, which is one third, were already released, evidently for the lack of evidence against them.\*

What evidence could be offered by the correspondent to prove his allegation about the interest of foreign military circles in the Ukrainian national movement in general, and the Ukrainian revolutionists in Galicia especially? Yes, various governments might be interested in the Ukrainian movement,—the Polish Military Organization boasts of having aroused the interest in the Polish question of the Japanese military circles, and in 1914, the German military circles were interested in the Polish revolutionary movement,—but is the possibility of such an interest a proof of it?

The Polish press and government like to talk a great deal of the connection between the Ukrainian revolutionists and foreign governments, in order to excuse in this way the extreme measures used against the revolutionary organization and all the societies connected with it. The Polish government prefers to speak of the connection of the Ukrainian Military Organization with the

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\* Mr. Tadeusz Marynowski, Polish consul of Buffalo, N. Y., stated in his letter to the "Buffalo Evening News," published on October 29, 1930, that in the central Polish government's campaign against the incendiarism in the summer, 1930, "about 400 suspects have been arrested, part of whom were released, and the others are awaiting trial".

government of Germany and Russia, thus capitalizing the animosity, old and new, against the two governments. The correspondent of the London Times or his informants have decided upon the German military circles. No proofs are offered for that conspiracy: evidently, it is hoped that once the German staff is mentioned no proof is needed. This was the usual policy of Polish prosecutors at the trials of various members of the Ukrainian Military Organization. Allegations of the "experts" were deemed sufficient proofs. The readers of an English daily are evidently considered as ready to believe such allegations as the members of Polish juries. It seems, however, that these readers are entitled to have their doubts and to ask for evidence upon which such charges are based. And if the German government really is the main furnisher of the funds and arms for the Ukrainian revolutionists, aren't the readers of great English dailies entitled to know why the Polish government refused to bring the matter to the knowledge of the League of Nations, at least as a retort to the German charges against the Polish government, in January, 1931?

The correspondent of the London Times tries to prove the charge by such evidence as a temporary residence of the alleged leader of that organization in Berlin. Is this a proof likely to appeal to an unprejudiced person? And if the leader's residence (if the person named is a leader) is a proof of his connection with the general staff of the country in which he lives, why not to mention his struggle against the German forces that had occupied Ukraine, in 1918-1919? What would this prove?

And what proofs has the correspondent for his enumeration of the various societies which are alleged to have served as screens for the revolutionary activities of this Ukrainian Military Organization?

All the societies enumerated by the correspondent are legal organizations, with open activities, with home organs openly published and censored by Polish censors. Could such an organization be called revolutionary even if some members of it have been affected by revolutionary spirit? Could the society then be said to have turned revolutionary even though it continues in its non-revolutionary activities, publishing a non-revolutionary organ? Would it be just, sensible or expedient to punish a school, church, sporting club, boy scout movement for the revolutionary spirit of a few members? These seem nonsensical questions. No intelligent person would seem to be able to entertain even for a moment a thought about blaming the whole organization for the acts or



spirit of a few members. And yet this nonsense seems to be the very essence of the Polish law on the Ukrainians. Many a Ukrainian organization was dissolved by the Polish government because several of its members did a "revolutionary" act, prohibited by the Polish government, for instance collecting contributions for Ukrainian war veterans. The supreme officer of the district of Radekhiv, by a decree No. 3754-30, dated October 26, 1930, dissolved the reading-room (branch) of the "Prosvita" because in the reading-room were found a copy of the censored book "Hutsul-sky Kurin" (which depicts the Polish-Ukrainian war) and a copy of the treasonable poem "It is no time, it is no time to serve either the Russian or the Pole".\*

The Ukrainian private "gymnasium" (college) of the society "Ridna Shkola" (Native School) at Drohobych was dissolved by the Polish government because of its alleged revolutionary spirit for connection with the Ukrainian Military Organization. The "Novy Chas", the Ukrainian triweekly, of Lviv, November 21, 1930, published the declaration of the directors of the dissolved school in which they state that for the last five years, which is since the recognition of the school by the Polish authorities, there was not one arrest in the school, either of a teacher or a student. Two students arrested last summer for the alleged participation in a revolutionary act—one was completely released, and the charges against the other were changed. During the pacification of 1930, 2 students and 2 teachers were arrested, but all were released. Out of all the persons connected with the society maintaining the school, 31 persons were arrested, but all were released with the exception of one, the Ukrainian ex-deputy to the Polish seym, who was arrested for his activities as deputy, and not for his activity in the society.

Polish official statements may be characterized by the following statement of the Polish ministry of the Interior, in its reply to Ukrainian petitions to the League of Nations:

"It must be remarked that the sabotagist activities did not embrace the entire territory of Little Poland, but only some of its districts, and developed especially in those localities where exist stronger Ukrainian organizations, sporting or cultural, such as 'Prosvita', 'Luh', 'Sokil' and 'Scouts', or Ukrainian schools, which proves that it is from those institutions that most often the initiative came to commit the criminal action".

But will any sensible or nonpartizan person be moved to make such conclusions as is made by the Polish document? If such a proof is sufficient to condemn Ukrainian organizations what con-

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\* The copy of the decree was printed in Polish by the "Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, November 5, 1930.



clusions should be drawn from the fact that the most criminal city in the United States, if not in the world, is the city which has the largest Polish colony?

As to the revolutionary character of the Ukrainian boy-scout organization it would also be interesting to hear the correspondent's evidence. It would be interesting to hear some quotations from "revolutionary" speeches made by the leaders of the organization, or such quotations of "revolutionary" passages in the official organ of the organization. The Polish government, which gave that information to the London Times correspondent, has already attempted to prove its statement. Ninety six boy-scouts were placed on trial in the city of Stry, charged with membership in an illegal scouting society. Ninety-six girls and boys were packed into the court room, charged with various acts, often insulted in their national feelings, and in the end were all acquitted without exception (though their condemnation could not have been a proof of their guilt, in the opinion of an unprejudiced person).

#### "INTENSIVE TERRORIST CAMPAIGN OF 1930"

The correspondent now offers a picture of an especially intensive revolutionary campaign of the said Ukrainian revolutionary organization of the summer, 1930. The correspondent himself mentions that communist agents were responsible for an independent part of the burnings. The correspondent, however, has strangely omitted still another factor which was written and commented on quite widely by the Polish press before it became initiated into the tenets of Polish pacificatory politics. The "Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny", for instance, a Polish pro-governmental daily, wrote on October 4, 1930, No. 268, in the following manner:

"In the last period the epidemic of incendiarism in Pomerania reached simply terrifying dimensions. There was noted a long series of fires, namely in: Nowy Dwor, Komorowo, Misleniew, Goscieszyn, Zarnowce, Rytwany, Leszne, Filipow, Krotoczyn, Ludzikow, and in many other places. Fires destroyed mostly homes and barns.

"It is characteristic that *those fires were started mostly by the owners of these households themselves, and this with the purpose of obtaining fire insurance.*

"For several months we have been warning the society that the policy of the Mutual Insurance Association as practiced for some time to increase the assessment of immovable property for the purpose of receiving higher indemnity *is a clear encouragement to criminal arson.* The facts of actual life confirm this prophesy in all the provinces of Poland." (*Italics of the original.*)

Because three factors at least were responsible for the epidemic of arson in Poland in the summer of 1930, wasn't it more sensible on the part of the government to investigate first to what

factor each act is attributable? Why did the Polish government jump at once to the conclusion that the Ukrainian Military Organization alone was responsible for all the acts of incendiarism? Why has the Polish government thrown aside this sensible mode of action? How can such a question be answered without the insight into that general policy of the Polish government towards the Ukrainians?

If the acts of incendiarism forced the hand of the Polish government, why was "pacification" used only in the Ukrainian provinces, and not everywhere where such acts of incendiarism occurred? Why wasn't the remedy applied also in Pomerania, if it was in Galicia, or rather, if it was not applied in Pomerania, why wasn't its application given up in Galicia?

If the correspondent of the London Times had spoken with Ukrainian political, cultural, cooperative and sporting workers and organizers, he would have surely come across upon a strong criticism of the Ukrainian Military Organization from various angles, and he would have noticed that the strongest feeling is aroused by the use of provocation which the secret nature of the Organization offers Polish pogrom organizations.\* In this way he would have come upon a fourth element responsible for the epidemic of arson, the provocative burnings by Polish secret and semi-secret pogrom societies, done with connivance with the Polish government, with special object to justify the reprisals that were to be heaped upon Ukrainian societies.

#### POLISH CHARGE OF REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS SIFTED

The correspondent's efforts to prove the guilt of the Ukrainian Military Organization for all the acts of arson in Galicia and his efforts to connect the Ukrainian volunteer fire brigades, athletic clubs and schools, receive a further illumination from the Polish press. Polish newspapers, in their unaware moments, have many times emphasized the need to destroy the various Ukrainian organizations, mentioned by the London Times correspondent, and the need was connected not with any revolutionary activities, but with Polish interests, pure and simple. The Polish press likes to

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\* He could come across hints at this argument in the Ukrainian press, hints only, since a free discussion of such matters would be suppressed by the Polish censor. In this manner for instance was suppressed the declaration of the three Ukrainian political parties condemning the principles and tactics of the Ukrainian Military Organization.

speak of the Polish-Ukrainian relations in the term of war. To take at random, here is an example taken from the leading paper of Lviv, the pro-government chauvinistic, "All-Polish" "Slowo Polskie", writing on September 10, 1930, i.e. directly before the punitive expeditions, on the firing-line of the Polish-Ukrainian war, and comparing thus the relative strength of the combatants:

ON THE POLISH FRONT LINE:

The Union of the Ex-Service men, 765 branches;

Union of the People's Youth 245 branches;

Sokol—122 branches;

The Society of Private Polish Schools—40 circles, 256 reading-rooms;

Fire brigades—263 posts.

ON THE UKRAINIAN FRONT:

"Prosvita"—3,000 circles and 2916 reading-rooms;

"Luh"—747 circles;

"Sokol"—513 branches;

"Scouts"—76 circles.

"We do not enumerate,"—the "Slovo Polskie" writes,—the cooperative unions such as "Silsky Hospodar" (numbering 1,100 circles) and the cooperatives organized in Centrosoyuz, Maslosoyuz, Narodna Torhovla, Centrobank,—in all 7019.

"The Ruthenians constitute on this territory 53.3 per cent of the population, and the outposts of their social life are 100 per cent. stronger and more numerous than Polish outposts.

"On the most important front sector, namely that of cultural and enlightenment, the relations are compromising (for the Poles) and painfully ridiculous. Against 2916 Ruthenian reading-rooms 256 Polish ones. . . .

"The 'Prosvita' has arranged in 1928, 1637 festivals, 7474 amateur theatricals, and 2343 lectures. Ten thousand and four hundred cultural enterprises in one year! What can the Poles offer against that?"

The Cracow conservative "Czas" (Times), in an article signed by S. Dolinski, published on October 11, 1930, reverses its previous position in the Ukrainian problem (quoted above) and propagates to force the Ukrainians into various Polish societies in all the fields of social activity. The author states that autonomy of Eastern Galicia is out of the question. He is opposed to granting the Ukrainian autonomy because the Ukrainian institutions which would enjoy the widest autonomy would be those in which the foreign enemies of Poland would have the widest influence (and not because autonomy would but widen the area of friction, as reported by the London Times). Such institutions, the "Czas" says, are: the Greek-Catholic (Uniat) church; private secondary schools; agricultural societies, especially the agricultural cooperatives; cultural societies; and sporting societies. Nothing less than that! That is the entity of the social life of the Ukrainians. And all this should be destroyed, the "Czas" says, because in these organizations the Ukrainians lose the sight of true original purposes

of these societies and begin sooner or later to work against the Polish State.

And still Mr. S. Dolinski's plan is modest when compared to the plans of other Poles, who try to strike directly at the very root of the Ukrainian race, that is at the stratum that holds the land, the peasantry. Mr. Karol Hubert Rostworowski, for instance, a prominent Polish writer, playwright, laureate of many prizes, calls upon the Poles to join his "Association of the Defense of Eastern Lands", in appeal he "proves" that the "Ruthenians" in Eastern Galicia are foreigners, indeed, nothing but denationalized Poles. This element, he says, wants to occupy the Polish land by means of purchases of great landed estates, of cooperatives and other "similar inimical unions".

The papers quoted are for the destruction of the enumerated Ukrainian societies, cultural, sporting, and economic. And the destruction of these Ukrainian objects is advised as simple war measure in that Polish-Ukrainian conflict which the Polish public and government prefer to view as a matter of life and death. This was advocated before the so-called pacification, but after the pacification the correspondent of the London Times wants us to believe that these objects were attacked because "volunteer fire brigades, athletic clubs, and even an organization modelled on the Boy Scouts have been used locally to screen allegiance to the Ukrainian Military Organization".\*

With this statement may be contrasted the common statements of Polish pro-government newspapers, which again and again repeated the charge that all the Ukrainians are accountable for the activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization,—a statement which had for its purpose to justify that attack upon the entire Ukrainian race which was to pass abroad for a "pacification".

#### THE UKRAINIANS AS A WHOLE OR ONLY U. W. O.?

When comparing the list of the "culprits" according to the Polish newspapers with that presented here by the London Times correspondent, it strikes one that from his enumeration of those subversive organizations are omitted Ukrainian cooperatives. The reader is allowed to draw the conclusion from this correspondence

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\* Mr. Marynowski, Buffalo consul of Poland, in his letter to the "Buffalo Evening News", said:

"The direct cause of the recent unrest in Southeastern Poland lies in the activities of a terrorist organization, directed and financed from abroad. *I feel certain that the Ukrainian people of Poland are neither actively supporting or even sympathizing with the organization*". (Italics are mine.—Ed.)



that while cultural and sporting clubs served as screens for revolutionary activities, the cooperatives were just what they were supposed to be. This inference is confirmed when the correspondent testifies that the cooperatives were active, that signs were on with all the Ukrainian colors, and that in spite of punitive expeditions the business was as usual. Let the reader, however, supplement this report with other reports, with witnesses upon witnesses tellin' of the special venom shown by the pacificatory detachments against the Ukrainian cooperative and then ask himself, why was this fact omitted by the informants of the London Times correspondent? Is it because no Englishman would believe that a cooperative would indulge in anything else but doing business? It is because no Englishman would believe that a cooperative worker is least likely to be revolutionary conspirator?

The Polish press, on the whole, made no such differentiation as made by the London Times correspondent or his informants. The Warsaw Polish socialist "Robotnik" wrote at the beginning of September, 1930, when the Polish press was preparing the atmosphere for the reprisals against the Ukrainians:

"The tension between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Eastern Little Poland is menacing. The press reports always newer and newer acts of sabotage committed by the Ukrainian Military Organization. The first fiddle in these reporting is done by the 'Illustrowany Kurjer Codzienny', the 'Lwowski Kurjer Poranny', and the 'Słowo Polskie'. These newspapers, as if at a command given by their superiors, conduct a rabid anti-Ukrainian campaign, which has all the earmarks of persecution. The danger lies in the circumstance that these incidents are attributed to the entire Ukrainian race, and that most severe methods of reprisals are advocated in order to stop them. Charging that all the Ukrainian organizations, cultural, enlightenment and economic, are centers of the terroristic and revolutionary activity, those papers demand the dissolution of all the Ukrainian gymnastic and sporting societies, that exist legally, the liquidation of all the Ukrainian schools, of the enlightenment society 'Prosvita', of the 'Ukrainian Theatre', the withdrawal of all the governmental credit, closing to the Ukrainians of all the access to government positions, and so on.\*

"It is a fact that so far the Ukrainian public did not oppose energetically and did not start to combat the irresponsible activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization, but it does not follow from this that the Ukrainian public are in agreement with the Ukrainian Military Organization. A considerable part of the Ukrainians takes a negative attitude towards the Ukrainian Military Organization, a considerable part are passive towards it, which facilitates the activities of the Organization. . . . The 'Novy Chas', the organ of the right wing of the

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\* While a Polish paper testifies that the Polish chauvinistic press advocates the closing of all the access to government positions to all Ukrainians, the London Times correspondent wants us to believe that "intimidation or the threat of boycott by their own countrymen has prevented Ukrainians from entering the administrative services in any number"!

Ukrainian Democratic Union, gives clearly to understand that the arsons are committed by the landlords in order to get insurance. This common opinion that it is not the Ukrainian Military Organization which is responsible for the acts of sabotage, explains the fact that the press does not combat the Organization. And still during trials it was ascertained that the Ukrainian Military Organization does commit sabotages.

"Such an attitude of the Ukrainians finds a ready foundation for the agitation of the Polish nationalists. We hear more and more often from the pages of the (Polish) press threats of reprisals and revenge, which pass beyond the limits admissible by the requirements of public peace. As the 'Dilo' reports, leaflets are being circulated, signed by some 'Citizens' Committee' calling to a 'final settlement', and the 'District Federation of the Polish Defenders of the Country' in Lviv publishes an appeal to its branches to be ready for the battle. The 'Gazeta Kolomyjska' also declared: 'We will find a method to liquidate our debts, with only one difference that we will pay our debts with interest, and with a usurious interest at that!'

"The 'Lwowski Kurjer Poranny' fired the following sentence, 'If the murders and arsons of the Ukrainian Military Organization find no proper reply, it is too bad, but we hope that a proper answer will come. As to ourselves, we will not remain debtors. And our settlement will not proceed according to the rule, 'tooth for tooth', but according to the principle, 'Ten for one!'

"These words certainly are the best evidence of the conditions and sentiments in Little Poland.

"The fruits of such a propaganda are ripening: last Saturday 20 persons attacked the Ukrainian hotel 'Narodna Hostynnystya', and the doorman of the hotel was wounded with a knife. This knife is a proof of what elements are composed those 'ready to struggle'. If the Polish-Ukrainian conflict is allowed to drift, then it may easily end in a catastrophe. An active attitude of the Poles will not weaken but strengthen the pugnaciousness of sabotagists. We stand before the danger of a greater friction in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. It is hoped that the government will do every thing in its power to prevent a Polish action. Every attempt at causing a brawl should be stopped in its inception. It is worst when an inflamed rabble begins to help the government in carrying its official duties. It will not be difficult then for an incident to bring about sad consequences."\*

Was the so-called pacification really directed against the sabotages of the Ukrainian Military Organization? Albert Filipczak writes in *Ameryka-Echo of Toledo, Ohio*, November 30, 1930: "Eye-witnesses tell that punitive expeditions were sent equally into those villages in which there had been no acts of sabotage, no burnings, no explosions, and these expeditions punished severely peaceful and defenseless people." And this statement is substantiated by many facts from the interpellation of the Ukrainian senators in the Polish seym, quoted in the later part of this book. One village after another is given with the note that no acts of sabotage had happened in it. The Polish government could easily disprove one such allegation after another, quoting the acts com-

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\* Quoted from the "Dilo", No. 197, September 6, 1930.

mitted in each particular village. Why hasn't the government done it? Were then these punitive expeditions dispatched into those villages to fight against those revolutionists who were not there? Or were they sent there for the purpose of doing the job which they did, and that is destroying the various Ukrainian organizations?

If the punitive expeditions were an extraordinary measure directed against the Ukrainian Military Organization, why then didn't the soldiers and the police when flogging the peasants as a rule speak of the Military Organization, but of the Ukrainian race? Polish official communiques, their description of these expeditions, state that the punitive detachment, coming to the village would call the village autonomous officers and explain to them the purpose of the arrival of the expedition. Why didn't these officers explain to the people that the purpose of the expedition was to stop incendiarism, instead of starting to flog the people, punctuating the blows with curses against Ukraine?

If the putting an end to the epidemic of arson and the liquidation of the Ukrainian Military Organization were the purpose of the punitive expeditions why then did the Polish government officials and Polish pogrom organizations force the Ukrainians to dissolve Ukrainian societies just because they were Ukrainian? Why were the Ukrainian communal autonomous bodies ordered by Polish district officers to declare themselves against the organization or existence of any Ukrainian society whatsoever? The blanks of such declarations were offered for signature also to private individuals of the Ukrainian race. The texts of such declarations were published in various Ukrainian and Polish papers, and offered as evidence in the Polish seym. Why doesn't the name of the Ukrainian Military Organization appear on them? Why aren't arsons mentioned in them? Why forever nothing else but the Ukrainianism and Ukrainian organizations as a whole are made the butt of those declarations?

Giving his picture of the punitive expeditions, the London Times correspondent admits that the Polish police and soldiers have committed most culpable excesses. This would mean that the "punitive expeditions" themselves were a legal act. Why didn't he state also in this connection that the Polish constitution prohibits the use of corporal punishment or any other punishment



inflicting physical torture? \* Why didn't he add that the Polish law knows nothing of the principle of collective responsibility which has been applied in this case to make the whole Ukrainian race responsible for the acts of the Ukrainian Military Organization, and the whole village for the acts of arson committed on its territory, or the entire Ukrainian society answerable for the individual acts of its particular members, even though done outside of the society? Why hasn't he mentioned all those facts, which are pertinent to the question of excesses in the punitive expeditions? Has he not heard of them? Why, some Polish newspapers have emphasized those facts very strongly. If their reasoning was not convincing to the correspondent of the London Times why didn't he present them simply as a matter of opinion of those papers and leave the matter with the reader to decide?

Here, for instance, is such an opinion of the "Robotnik", the official organ of the Polish Socialists, one of the largest Polish parties, which not so long ago counted Pilsudski among its members. The "Robotnik" wrote editorially on October 3, 1930:

"Our attitude to the last events on the territory of Eastern Galicia is well determined. We start from the principle, that mass reprisals cannot be a method of combating the so-called sabotages in any nation. Mass reprisals shift the entire matter to another plane: the individual who has committed an act of sabotage, ceases to be responsible individually and disappears in the crowd. Reprisals strike at thousands who have nothing in common with the very crime; there remains a principle of 'collective responsibility', which is unknown to the Polish law, which is foreign to any conception or needs of the nation.

"We would like to be in position to verify all these reports which come from Eastern Galicia. We refrain from publishing them until we have verified them. At present we confirm that the 'sanation camp' (the pro-government camp) went along the line of the extreme Polish nationalism and is duped by the false opinion that a 'strong police hand' can settle anything or can explain anything.

"We omit various tragic details. We say instead with complete frankness that the so-called pacification of Eastern Galicia as undertaken by the 'punitive expeditions' is contrary to all the traditions of the Polish work under foreign occupation in favor of Poland's independence; that it destroys all hopes that the relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians could become in the future more peaceful; denies all the ideology of the Polish-Ukrainian understanding, which

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\* The Article 95, of the Polish constitution, states:

"The Polish Republic guarantees on its territory a full protection of life, freedom and property to all without distinction of nationality, language, race or religion."

The Article 98, of the Polish constitution states:

"Prosecution and punishment of a citizen is admissible only according to the rules of the laws in force.

"Punishments accompanied by physical torments, are not permitted and nobody shall be subjected to such punishments."



a portion of the pro-government party not so long ago considered their own undeniable property.

"Acts of sabotage are not combated by means of 'punitive expeditions'. In the twentieth century, they are combated by means of legal procedures, and especially by means rendering the Ukrainian public responsible for the fate of the Polish Republic. Such was the ideology of the Polish struggle for Poland's independence in 1863; such it has remained the principle of Polish socialists."

And if the correspondent of the London Times should not care to weigh the facts and opinions of the "Robotnik" on the ground that they may be dictated by the spirit of opposition to the government, then he will perhaps listen to the opinion of the pro-government "Przelom", which said:

"We are alarmed by the reprisals directed against the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia (the original terms it Little Poland), reprisals which in some cases might have been indispensable, but when applied collectively, may overstep the limits of necessity. Those reprisals set aflame torches of hatred and may create a historic chasm between the Polish and Ukrainian races. Yet, the problem of our attitude towards the Ukrainian public is much more than that of merely keeping Eastern Galicia (Little Poland) with the Polish Republic. This is a question upon which depends to a great extent not only our national development and its policy, as well as our international standing, but the realization of the great conception of uniting the Baltic and Black seas, which was the aim of Marshal Pilsudski during his Kiev expedition. And without the realization of that conception, which constitutes the reason for the existence of the Polish state in the fabric of world history, there can be no talk of Poland as a great power.

"The depicting of Poland as a 'great Power' should be checked by at least those newspapers and camps, which see the solution of the Ukrainian problem in Poland only in police reprisals and in the 'collective responsibility' (which offends the sense of justice and law), in packing prisons with Ukrainian leaders, and in the muzzling and hand-shackling of the Ukrainian people. Unless, words and slogans should serve no other purpose than to mask the true thoughts and program which they are ashamed to confess aloud."\*

"The 'Naprzod',"—says the "Dilo", taking exception to the 'Przelom', wrote in an uncensored article as follows:

"But to what government does 'Przelom' thus address itself? To the government to which Marshal Pilsudski gives power and for which he takes responsibility? This government the paper charges with losing sight of the 'reason

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\* This article is reprinted from the Ukrainian daily "Dilo", Lviv, October 28, 1930, which on that occasion wrote:

"We have on several occasions reprinted a number of comments of the Polish oppositionist press of Warsaw criticizing the notorious events on the territory of Eastern Galicia, but when such articles appeared on our pages, they were always suppressed by the censor. Now we intend to record the comments of the "Przelom", the organ of the democratic group of the B B regarding said events, and then the views of the "Naprzod" on those comments. To avoid another confiscation of our paper we reprint both quotations from a Lviv paper, namely the "Chwila", of October 26, 1930, which the Lviv censor had passed.

for existence of the Polish State'. To be sure, 'Przelom' hits that very press which praises collective reprisals, but this press does not carry out those reprisals; it merely fosters a public with depraved instincts. And who is the actor of that spectacle, which, as the 'Przelom' assures us, racks social conscience? Has not a free hand been left in such an important matter to local administrative organs and to the police?

"And if the 'Przelom' makes a charge of declamatoriness against this section of the press which, speaking of Poland as a great power sees the guarantee of it in prisons, then we must say that such a charge is well merited by the 'Przelom' itself, which tries to save its face by empty talk. Moreover, the system which considers imprisonment the best method of combating parliamentary representatives, does not look for other methods in pacifying the borderlands. This system must be accepted in its entirety or rejected completely. To evade the issue by means of phrases is an empty effort."

The controversy between the two Polish newspapers has a far deeper interest than the mere fact that one of them is the organ of the pro-government group, known as B.B. (Non-Partizan Block of Cooperation with the Government). The controversy defines the Polish aspiration to play again the historic role of a great power; the ambitions leading to the occupation of important Ukrainian provinces, which took Pilsudski upon his Kiev adventures, and which were also in the background of the recent reprisals against the Ukrainian people. "Naprzod", the Cracow daily organ of the Polish Socialist Party, which had given the previous Polish parliament the speaker, Mr. I. Daszynski, points out the connection between the reprisals against the Ukrainians and the encroachments of the Polish police, army and courts upon the freedom of the Poles themselves. Both newspapers seem to be in accord as to the use of libertarian phraseology for the purpose of concealment of real thoughts and programs, too shameful to be made public. Both opponents silently agree that the main sinner in this respect is the Polish government.

#### DO UKRAINIAN CLERGY HIDE MACHINE-GUNS?

As a final master stroke of his apology for the Polish reprisals, the correspondent of the London Times speaks of "a sufficient number of oiled rifles and machine guns discovered, some in the houses of parish priests". The phrase "oiled rifles" must have been meant as a refutation of the Ukrainian charge, raised later by the Ukrainian deputies to the Polish seym, that those weapons were useless relics of the world war, such as any war veteran likes to keep in his house. The correspondent does not mention a word about it, not more than he does about the Ukrainian charge that many of these arms had been planted by the very officers making the raids. But when this might be an omission, what shall the

reader think of the correctness of the whole report when the correspondent of the London Times vouches the discovery of machine guns in the houses of Ukrainians, of some of them in the houses of Ukrainian priests? And the Polish government, in its reply to the Ukrainian petitions to the League of Nations, enumerates that the following weapons were discovered by the Polish punitive expeditions in the Ukrainian ("three Eastern provinces of Little Poland") during the period of July 1, to November 31, 1930: 1,287 rifles, 292 shot-guns, 566 revolvers, 398 bayonets, 46 daggers, 47 sabres, 27 brass knuckles, 99.80 kg. of explosives, 31 hand grenades, 2,857 cartridges, 137.4 meters of fuse, and 56 wire-cutting scissors. As this report was sent in January, 1931, and the correspondent's articles appeared on December 12, and 18, 1930, could it be supposed that the correspondent knew of some machine-guns of which the Polish government knew nothing?

To be sure, every government has the right to disarm the people, but is it a sensible method of government to terrorize five millions of people in order to take away from them an arsenal at which a Chicago gang would laugh? (1,200 rusty rifles with 2,800 cartridges, or one rifle for every 3,500 Ukrainians, two cartridges per each rifle!)

And when it is right for the government to take arms from the people, why did the Polish government take away the rusty relics and the non-existent machine-guns but left good rifles, hand-grenades, and other perfectly good arms in the hands of Polish colonists in Eastern Galicia? Why did the Polish government search for the Ukrainian machine-guns which exist only in the imagination of some Polish apologists, and why didn't the Polish government take away the rifles, machine-guns, and aeroplanes, exhibited at the convention of the Polish "Strzelec", at their convention in the spring, 1930?

#### A THREAT OF NEW REPRISALS?

And if the measure, though illegal and unjust, was still dictated by a good judgment of the emergency, why does the government begin to consider if it would not be advisable to introduce into Galicia a frontier gendarmerie, perhaps of the kind that were used by Austria in Bosnia to terrorize the Servian people away from the Servian nationalist movement? And why do the Polish chauvinistic, pro-government papers go on talking of the need of the Poles to be an armed camp, disciplined, and to carry an uncompromising combatative attitude? (Vide, e.g., the article en-

titled "A Ukrainian's Horoscope", in the "Slowo Polskie", Lviv, October 15, 1930.)

How can all these facts be accounted for without taking into consideration the fundamental idea of the Polish government that the Polish State is the Polish race, and that every other race that some day might secede from Poland should be destroyed?

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There are still many facts in this, in its way remarkable correspondence which require correction, but these are omitted in hope that all the facts mentioned in the article will be examined by the reader in the light of all the evidence presented in this book.

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## XXV.

### *TESTIMONY OF A CANADIAN TRAVELING IN GALICIA.*

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OSHAWA, No. 18 (Staff Special).—Oppressed by attacks of police and soldiers, burdened by heavy taxes and fines levied for the least cause, denied the right to use or teach their own language, the 4,000,000 Ukrainians of East Galicia are victims of a plot of the Polish Government to crush out their national feelings and culture, claims Philip Kalynko, of Oshawa, who has just returned from an 18 months visit in Poland.

Within the last few months their lot has become worse because of Pilsudski's attempt to control the Parliament and change the constitution by terrorizing all who might oppose him.

Mr. Kalynko, himself an eyewitness of many of the incidents, describes wrecked villages, Ukrainians beaten senseless by gendarmes, crops burned and supplies looted. These have been common happenings all over his native province, he states. The stories he tells of incidents witnessed during his visit sound like tales of the dark ages in Europe.

## OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM

There are 7,000,000 Ukrainian subjects in Poland, he states. Of these over 4,000,000 are concentrated in East Galicia which before the war was subject to Austria. After the war the residents of the province founded a Ukrainian republic, not, however, in any way identified with the Soviet Republics. Mr. Kalynko declared



emphatically that the people always had been and still were strongly opposed to Communism.

Poland, after several years of war, aided by France, crushed the neighboring republic and was granted the province by the Council of Ambassadors in 1923. At that time the Polish Government promised that the Ukrainians would have cultural autonomy with full language rights and their own schools and universities. This promise, he declares, has not been kept. During the past few years, the Government has been trying to beat the Ukrainians into poverty-stricken submission.

### LEAGUE DOESN'T HELP

"The League of Nations does nothing for my people," says Mr. Kalyenko. "Other minorities in Europe are represented by their own people in the league. We have no representatives to speak for us and that is why I want Canadians and all civilized people to know about conditions in my native land."

It was in 1911 that Philip Kalyenko left his home to come to Canada. He spent most of his Canadian life in Oshawa. He has a large family. He returned to East Galicia in May, 1929, to visit with friends and relatives. With a strong love for the beautiful Ukrainian literature and traditions, the trip was intended to be a cultural pilgrimage. Instead, he found himself mourning for departed glories and returned fired with the patriotic purpose of awakening the outside world to conditions in Central Europe.

"The first thing I noticed was how poor and unhappy all the people were," said Mr. Kalyenko. "The Ukrainians should not be unhappy, but I found out why when I discovered all the schools closed, the Ukrainian language forbidden and the people compelled to study Polish. I noticed people walking the streets bare-footed. One family I knew had only one pair of shoes, and when the father went out in the cold weather, the mother and the rest of the family had to stay in the house."

### PEASANTS TERRORIZED

While visiting relatives in Serafyni, a small village near Horodenka, Mr. Kalyenko was an eye-witness of one of the punitive expeditions of the Polish gendarmes to terrorize the peasants. On the estate of the neighboring Polish landlord some grain had been burned in the field. The villagers claimed that the owner had done it himself to collect insurance and thus make more money than he could have done by selling his grain.

"About 80 gendarmes and police rode into the village in the morning," describes Mr. Kalynko. "They started by wrecking the co-operative store owned by the villagers. Then they gathered a crowd of people and made them wreck the building and throw out all the supplies. Rice, sugar and flour were mixed with refuse, so that it would be spoiled; they smashed windows and ripped off the roof.

"They did the same with the Community Hall where the people held their little concerts and dances.

"Then they went into homes of about 20 of the leading peasants and damaged their property. They beat them with heavy sticks and tried to make them confess that they knew who had burned the crop. Of course the people didn't know, so couldn't tell. They burned the crops of many of the farmers and fined those that resisted. They stayed in the village about 24 hours and then rode away."

Similar scenes were enacted in Shlenkevick, another nearby village, while Mr. Kalynko was visiting there.

"In Verbiwci they attacked the Ukrainian school because the teacher was using some of our language," he said.

"They went into his home and wrecked everything. They gathered all the clothing of the teacher and his wife and burned it and ripped the teacher's good coat with their bayonets. When the teacher's mother, an old woman, tried to save some clothing, they beat her with the butts of their rifles and she was badly injured."

### TAXES BURDENSOME

In the same place, Mr. Kalynko states, the gendarmes arrested a farmer, Serenda, and beat him until he had to be taken to the hospital. The police would enter and search and wreck the homes of the peasants by night, throwing out all their food and spoiling it. The taxes are heavy, he claims, and the peasant cannot grow enough grain to pay them all. They can only get worthless Polish marks for their grain, but have to pay for manufactured goods in Canadian or American money. It takes 10 bushels of wheat to pay for a rough pair of shoes, he states.

Archbishop Andrew Sheptytsky, a count and large landowner himself, said Mr. Kalynko, declares that many of the crimes blamed on the peasants were committed by the landowners, who are unable to sell their grain under present conditions and burn it to collect insurance. However, the Polish Government sends cavalry

ing all suspected areas and terrorizes the peasants when anything happens.

Beating the peasants with heavy sticks is one of the favorite pastimes of the police, alleges Mr. Kalynko. He described a raid at Vikno, where 13 peasants' homes were destroyed, and their owners beaten. They entered the home of the priest, who was at dinner with his family. Pretending to search his papers, they destroyed all the property in the house. A little girl made some objection and she was beaten until she was crippled.

(The Toronto Evening Telegram, November 18, 1930.)

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## XXVI.

*INVESTIGATION BY MISS MARY SHEEPSHANKS,  
SECRETARY OF WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.*

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### POLES AND THE UKRAINE.

#### *THE RECENT 'TERROR'*

#### MORE FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE.

##### *An English Inquiry.*

The official Polish Press Bureau in London, in a series of widely circulated "Bulletins," has recently tried to throw discredit upon the reports which have appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" upon Polish affairs. It has questioned not only the paper's accuracy, but its good faith. At the time of the publication of these "Bulletins" we dealt day by day with such points as seemed to us to require refutation or comment. The "Bulletins" were also largely concerned with points of detail which we did not think it necessary to pursue and with general reflections upon the character of the "Manchester Guardian" as a newspaper which we were well content to leave to the judgment of the public. We can only suppose that the underlying motive of this remarkable campaign was to distract attention from our truthful account of the terror in Eastern Galicia this autumn, of the violence and trickery practised in the recent elections, and of the barbarous treatment of political prisoners.

Confirmation of the accuracy of our reports is not difficult to obtain. We publish below the report of Miss Mary Sheepshanks on the atrocities perpetrated in Eastern Galicia of which she made a special investigation on the spot. Miss Sheepshanks, who is a daughter of the late Bishop Sheepshanks, was at one time head of Morley College, then secretary to the "Fight the Famine" organisation, and has for several years been secretary of the Women's International League at its headquarters at Geneva. Some of the details of her story make painful reading, but we have thought it necessary to publish it in full since it shows that our reports, whose accuracy has been officially denied by the Polish Press Bureau, in no way exaggerated the thruth.

#### PERSONAL EXPERIENCES.

*(From Miss Mary Sheepshanks).*

An urgent request was sent to some international bodies by the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, and, especially by the women, to send an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the methods used by the Polish soldiery and police in the "pacification" carried out during October and up to the elections on November 16. In response to this request, two women, an Austrian and an Englishwoman, recently visited the districts concerned, and, in spite of all the difficulties placed by the authorities in the way of obtaining the information, it was found possible to collect first-hand evidence as to the sufferings inflicted on hundreds of villagers in the districts concerned.

The Ukrainians or, as the Poles prefer to call them, Ruthenians number about 5,000,000 in Eastern Galicia, and differ in race and language from the Poles. They have a distinctive culture of their own, and although by religion Roman Catholics, acknowledging and being acknowledged by the Papacy, they have a church of their own, the Uniat, which has liturgy akin to that of the Greek Orthodox. Their Metropolitan Archbishop, Count Szeptycki, a man of great culture and learning, is one of the leading spokesmen of their racial ideals, and champion of their civil rights. The pastoral letter in which, in the month of October, he protested against the Polish "pacification" was suppressed by the authorities. The events which led up to the severe repressive measures ordered by the Polish Government were rickburnings carried out, it is stated, by schoolboys going through the country on bicycles. Instead of punishing the culprits it was decided to terrorise the whole population. The



Ukrainians themselves believe that the repressive measures were ordered, not in consequence of the firing of crops, but in order to terrorise the population into voting for the Government list in the elections.

### *BRUTAL FLOGGINGS.*

The investigation of all these events is very difficult owing to the following ordinances:

Paragraph 1: Article 1. — Whoever intentionally gives such information or documents, or puts other objects at the disposal of strangers, which in the interest of the Polish State should be kept secret from the Governments of foreign States, is liable to a punishment of five years' imprisonment.

Paragraph 1: Article 5. — Whoever intentionally, or without authorisation, collects information and documents or other material which are mentioned in article 1, or whoever attempts to obtain possession or to get information of such things, is liable to a punishment of three years' imprisonment.

Many persons are now in prison for mere possession of information with regard to damage done to persons and property. Houses are frequently searched by police, and the population is so thoroughly terrorised and in such actual danger of further reprisals that few will venture to make a statement that may lead to further floggings and imprisonment. Nevertheless it was found possible to interview a number of peasants and workmen from different villages, who were still suffering from the frightful beatings inflicted on them two months ago. In each case the general plan followed was similar, and showed clearly that it was ordered from headquarters. In some cases the attack on the village was made by cavalry, in other by police squads; the time chosen was generally night: the village was surrounded, machine-guns set up. Some soldiers were detailed to levy contributions in live stock, grain, and sometimes cash from each household. Others forced the villagers to wreck their reading-room, library and co-operative store, and for these operations they were not allowed tools but had to use their hands, which were often torn and bleeding, in fact used to the bone. They were then made to sign a declaration that they had carried out the demolition of their own free will. A third detachment rounded up the leading men of the village, especially the keeper of the co-operative store, the custodian of the reading-room, and others, including the schoolmaster and the priest. These men were

then driven into a barn, stripped, held down, and beaten with the thick sticks used for threshing. The beating was continued till the men lost consciousness; they then had cold water poured over them and the beating was resumed. Very often 200 or 300 blows were inflicted, so that the flesh was horribly torn, and in the case of the man we saw the wounds were still unhealed and raw after two months. In many cases bones were broken, in some cases death ensued. A woman from one of the villages told us how she had seen the beatings carried out, and how one young man who was being pressed to acknowledge that he had arms hidden at last, in frantic pain, said, in order to stop the flogging, that he had a gun hidden in his roof. The soldiers then went to look for it, and not finding it (it had never existed), they beat him to death.

This woman also told us how she saw a man dragged, after beating, along the roads, tied to the motor-car of the officers. Women of the village were forced by the soldiers to dress in their festal clothes, to provide wine and wait on the troops, and then to accompany them to the next village. Meanwhile the beaten men, bleeding and fainting, were thrown into a cellar, where they were left for 24 hours without attention to their wounds, and even without a drink of water.

In some cases women, children, and very old men were flogged. We saw a boy of 13, whose leg was broken by the soldiers, and the bone was so injured and inflamed that it will not heal. We saw also a man of 63 who has now been ill for ten weeks as a result of his beating.

#### *MEDICAL TREATMENT REFUSED.*

One terrible feature of the whole procedure was the refusal of medical treatment to the victims. Doctors were forbidden to go out of the towns to the villages, and peasants attempting to come into the towns for treatment were turned back by the police. In many cases the wounds have gangrened, and either death or lifelong injury has resulted. As is inevitable when a helpless peasantry is handed over to the armed soldiers and police to do as they like, numerous excesses of all kinds have occurred. A priest, Mandziy, after receiving 200 blows on the back and having water thrown over him, was then turned over and the police stamped on his chest and beat him on the belly and legs; in his agony he begged to be shot. The police were at the time cooking their meal near by; they took the boiling food and threw it over his wounds. Shortly after this his death was announced by the

Polish press, but, unfortunately for himself, he still lingers on in torture. His sister, who lived with him, was then beaten and his house broken up.

In another village there was a Jewish doctor who wished to dress the wounds, but was forbidden to do so. The Polish hospitals have refused to take in the victims, and in many cases the local doctor has fled for fear of arrest, as several doctors found dressing wounds of the victims were imprisoned.

Evidence in support of this statement was given to us by doctors, and a list is in our possession of cases of wounds with names, age, and village of the victims. These include cases of necrosis, hemorrhage, broken ear-drums caused by blows on the head, and gangrene.

#### *Destroying the Evidence.*

In order to prevent medical reports being drawn up the houses of Ukrainian doctors in the towns were searched by the police; even the jam-pots and children's toy-cupboards being searched for documents or photographs. Lawyers, too, were forbidden to take any action in defence of their clients. A number of persons injured, and whose property had been pillaged and looted by soldiers and police, addressed themselves to lawyers in Tarnopol. For merely taking down statements of their clients' cases they were seized by the police, who searched their houses. Five lawyers were imprisoned. In one case the wife, who acted as her husband's secretary, had helped in drawing up a statement. She was taken to the police station, stripped in front of the police, and imprisoned in various prisons for two months, then in despair and misery she refused all food, and was finally released.

In another case the wife of a priest who was severely ill was told by the police to get up and on being unable to do so was dragged from her bed and beaten until insensible. Her two daughters, aged thirteen and seventeen, were similarly beaten.

Besides damage to persons, immense damage has been done to property. The priest's house in many cases has been wrecked, the furniture and books destroyed. The village reading-rooms, libraries, and co-operative stores have been systematically destroyed.

The priests were special objects of enmity. On one occasion a bishop who personally visited sixteen villages immediately after, and in some cases during the raid, was threatened, and only



released on showing his episcopal cross. On another occasion, when the Bishop of Stanislavov, hearing the cavalry approaching a neighbouring village, drove to the presbytery, he sent the priest away in his carriage, and himself occupied the priest's place. When the soldiers came to search for the priest, the Bishop declared, "I am now the priest here," and they were afraid to touch him. In many cases the victims were forced, under threats and mistreatment, to sing the Polish national hymn and to cry "Long live Pilsudski."

After these raids had continued for some time, the inhabitants, on hearing that troops were approaching their village, fled into the woods and remained in hiding for many days, in some cases for weeks. In some villages the troops took the roofs from their houses, or forced the peasants to destroy their roofs; the windows were broken wholesale, stoves damaged, agricultural machines, sewing machines, and other apparatus broken up. In some cases wells were befouled and the drinking water supply destroyed.

#### *Assaults on Women.*

Naturally, as in all such cases, there were attacks on women. We possess the names of persons and of villages who were mistreated in various ways, and we possess signed statements as to the damage done.

Evidence was also confirmed by other eye-witnesses of the events, women belonging to various women's organisations, by lawyers, deputies, doctors and clergy, in particular by bishops, who have so far been immune from personal violence, and who are in close touch with their clergy and with the inhabitants.

Several points must be emphasised: that this so-called pacification has been carried out with a ferocity which can only be compared to the previous atrocities carried out in the early nineteenth century by the Bashi-bazouks in the old Turkish territories, and, secondly, that these atrocities were not punishments inflicted for crime but were inflicted without trial and wholesale on an entire population. Thirdly, that they were done by command of the Government and were carried out strictly according to plan and were not merely the excesses of subordinates. Fourthly, that the victims were denied all medical assistance. Fifthly, that every effort has been made to prevent the drawing up of any reports or statistics showing the extent of the repression. The number of villages thus treated was between 500 and 800. It cannot be stated with exactitude how many



peasants and workmen were flogged, but it certainly runs into hundreds and perhaps several thousands. Imprisonments have also been carried out on a great scale, and when the prisons were full the barracks and other buildings were requisitioned.

If, as is stated by the Polish apologists, this whole affair has been much exaggerated, it is a matter for surprise that they resist the attempts to ascertain the exact facts.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Monday, December 29, 1930).

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## XXVII.

### THE TESTIMONY OF A NURSE.

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Allow me to describe several experiences which I had in Eastern Galicia on my recent visit to that country.

I started from America on October 3 with the intention of visiting the village of Ivanivka in the district of Skalat, the place of my birth. I arrived in Lviv (Lemberg) on October 10. At the railroad station I saw two groups of persons, six in each, with manacled hands, tied to each other by ropes, being led by Polish police. They wore the costumes of the Ukrainian peasantry and all were evidently badly beaten, as they had bruises on their faces and blood on their shirts. Arriving at the Ukrainian hotel "Narodna Hostynnytsya" (National Hostelry), I was surprised to see the windows broken and the gates closed. The clerk told me that Polish students and rowdies had attacked the hotel the day before and demolished it. I took a room facing the court, for only such rooms were not completely wrecked. I could not stay there long, however, for every hotel was being carefully watched by the Polish police who were on the lookout for every foreigner. Having been shadowed for two days by spies, I checked out and went to live with my friends.

On the very day of my arrival to Lviv, I saw a parade of Polish university students. They marched directly to the building of the Ukrainian society "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) and there broke all the windows. They did likewise to the Ukrainian dairy

cooperative "Maslo-Soyuz" (Butter Association) and others. The Polish state police calmly looked on without interfering.

I wanted to go to the village, but my friends told me of the Polish punitive expeditions into Ukrainian villages. I was advised to stay in the capital as I would surely be arrested immediately on my arrival to a village. I was told also of bombing of Ukrainian schools by Poles in Lviv, so I went out to see if it was true, and I saw the Ukrainian school of Prince Leo on the suburb of Lychakiv lying in ruins. Only some one provided with military explosives could possibly so completely ruin the building. There remained but one wall standing.

I started for the village of my birth in spite of the fact that my friends at Lviv had told me of thousands of Polish police and soldiers invading Ukrainian villages, robbing the Ukrainian peasants, flogging them, maltreating them in all inhumane ways possible. I succeeded, however, in penetrating as far as the town of Tarnopol, where I was told by the Polish police that should I venture into a village, I would be arrested at once. I then returned to Lviv.

On my way from Tarnopol to Lviv, from my train I saw, near the town of Zboriv, a group of eleven Ukrainian peasants being conducted by a Polish policeman and a Polish soldier. The two officers sat on the wagon while the peasants, manacled to each other and tied together with a rope about their necks, plodded their way in the deep mud and rain.

On my arrival at Lviv, I heard that some peasants, wounded by the Polish punitive expedition, had arrived at the city. In order to see them I went to the General Hospital on Lychakiv street. I saw a long line of peasant wagons on which lay wounded Ukrainian peasants. They had not been admitted by the management of the hospital, being told by Polish doctors that there was no room for them. My friend who was with me told them to go to the Ukrainian dispensary, "Narodna Lichnytsya," where they might receive first aid.

I followed them to this dispensary. Having served as a nurse all through the World War, I showed the doctor my credentials and was at once admitted as help. We nurses went to the wagons waiting before the dispensary. We lifted the peasants and carried them into the dispensary room. Some could walk only with the aid of the nurses. Most of them started to bleed from their wounds as soon as they lifted themselves and had to be carried in. Two of them could not be moved from the wagon and had to be bandaged while lying there. As soon as a patient was

brought in, we removed the clothing, which was soaked with blood and the dirt which had been beaten into the wounds. They were flogged on the buttocks and their backs were covered with streaks from the whipping. One of the victims had a deep wound on his neck from which almost all the skin was abraded; he told us that while he was being flogged by three soldiers, one of them kept his boot on his neck, pressing him to the ground. Their flesh was beaten in mash, and often hung in strips, which bled horribly. Some of them showed the inception of gangrene.

I have brought with me from over there photographs of the victims of Polish floggings. I can identify each photo, and give the name, profession, age and wounds of each person. I refrain from publishing the names fearing for the security of the persons photographed, or, if they have died already, of their families. Among the victims photographed there is a peasant 61 years of age. His wounds from flogging by Polish soldiers cut to the very bones. Compared with them the worst shot wounds I had seen in the war seemed a mere trifle. He was first flogged with clubs and flail-swingles, some three hundred lashes on one spot. Then, after the flesh had been beaten from off the bones, the soldiers plaited electric wires into a cat-o'-nine-tails and again whipped the victim on the same spot to make the flesh fly in strips. My fear for the safety of these victims is no joke as the bandaging was done always with fear of a raid by police, gendarmes or Polish hooligans. It made everybody nervous, doctors, nurses, and patients. But we had to do our duty.

Among the victims whom we bandaged in the dispensary was Rev. Michael Blozovsky, parson of the Ukrainian Catholic church at the district city of Pidhaytsi. He gave me explicit permission to publish the story of his experiences.

He was arrested by Polish police during a walk in his parish. They told him, "Come with us, and we will ordain you again, for you were not properly ordained if you had the desire to organize Ukrainian boy-scouts!" He was brought to the police station, taken to some shanty on the premises and thrown into a dark room. While thus imprisoned he heard from the outside, the horrible groans and cries of maltreated people. An hour later a policeman came into the room, slapped him on the face twice and hit him in the side with the butt of the rifle, knocking him down. The policeman then kicked him with his boot and left, saying,

"We'll soon come here to ordain you". Fifteen minutes later two policemen came, took him out of the dark room and led him to the courtyard, under some barn or wood-shed. Two policemen threw him down, tore off his cassock, pants and shirt. One soldier sat on his neck, another sat on his legs, and four started to flog him. He swooned, and was revived with cold water dashed over his face. When he regained consciousness, he was told, "This was your first ordination. Now we shall see if you were properly ordained, and if not, we will start anew." They stuffed his mouth with dirt, saying, "Taste this soil and tell us whose soil it is!" He said, "It is the land of the people, the Ukrainian people." They said, "Evidently you were wrongly ordained, so we have to ordain you again." They flogged him again till he swooned. When he came to, he was told to eat the dirt again, and once more was whipped. Regaining consciousness, he found himself lying on the floor of the police station. In the evening several parishioners took him to the parish house. Here he was attended to for three days by peasants, and when his wounds showed no signs of healing, he was taken by them to Lviv, to be treated by doctors.

The victims of the punitive expedition told the doctors that there are other people as badly beaten but they could not be removed from their homes, and they appealed to the doctors to go to them. Several Ukrainian doctors started on one of the following days to the villages named, found and helped several of the victims, but were soon arrested by the Polish police, who were afraid lest the doctors should write of their examinations to newspapers in their private letters or to the courts. Thus were arrested the physicians Dr. Panchyshyn and Dr. Maritchak of Lviv. With the same purpose in view, the peasants were threatened with another punitive expedition should they complain about their maltreatment.

In order to see the life of the village with my own eyes I dressed in a peasant costume and with a friend, who also donned a peasant woman's garb, went to the village of Chyzykiv in the district of Lviv. I saw many peasant homes demolished. Windows were smashed, their sashes torn out, doors broken, roofs torn off. In the pantries we saw grain and flour mixed into one mass over which was poured soup and kerosene by the Polish soldiers. Trunks were broken and linen was carried away. Chickens and hogs were also taken by soldiers without payment. Many people face ruin and starvation. In many houses lay men who have been flogged. In some houses we came across several members of a family sick in bed as a result of flogging.



We bandaged many wounded and gave them all the money we had with us. Many people refused to take any help from us, telling us of the threats of Polish soldiers and officers that should they accept any help from Ukrainians another expedition would be sent to them. In most cases they refused to give us their names or to tell us who had beaten them, and no amount of assurance on our part could convince them that we were not spies or provocators.

I returned to Lviv, where I learned on the very next day that the Polish police suspected me of going to Ukrainian villages and that I was under the police surveillance. I continued to nurse in the Ukrainian dispensary and in a private Ukrainian hospital. The Polish police and administrative officers were making frequent visits to the hospital, trying to force the managers to close it and to send the patients to their homes. The doctors and nurses, however, refused to comply with this request, telling the officers that they have no means of sending the patients home and that the Polish managers of public hospitals refused to admit them.

Some time later I happened to be present during the visit at the hospital of the "starosta" (supreme officer) of Lviv. He was accompanied by a government doctor, a judicial officer, and several policemen in plain clothes. They at once ordered all the doctors and nurses out of the hospital. We were told by the patients later that the officials had taken charge of the wards, and going from one patient to another, uncovered their wounds, and the "starosta" dictated to the clerk what he should write. The government doctor stood by nodding his head to every word of the "starosta," while this official described the wounds of a man who had received three hundred blows with a flail-swingle as a wound of the size of a lady's palm. When the patient bitterly remarked that he had received three hundred blows with a flail-swingle, the "starosta" remarked, "Then you weren't beaten properly yet if you were able to count your blows." After that no patient dared to correct the "starosta." They were cowed by the threat to receive another beating, which they read in the "starosta's" words. Some of them were too weak to utter a word of protest.

The "starosta" asked some of the patients by whom they had been beaten. They answered that it was the work of soldiers. He asked, "What soldiers?" If the patient was able to name the detachment, he was asked if he would be able to recognize the floggers individually. When the patient hesitated, he "starosta" dictated that the floggers were unknown. Some were able but were cowed by the methods of inquiry to admit. Some were not

asked those questions at all, the "starosta" simply dictating the answer, without questioning.

The "starosta" inquired most persistently as to who had taken the photographs of the wounds. Hearing such questions, the patients were silent or evasive. They would give evasive answers when asked for the name of the doctor or the nurse who had dressed the wounds. The "starosta" called loud that those who had dressed wounds had done this in order to take photographs, and that he would close the hospital and disband the whole bunch, that the hospital is illegal.

For entire three weeks I stayed in Lviv. New patients were continually coming to the dispensary and hospital asking to be treated for wounds resulting from floggings. Some of them were beaten a few weeks previously, others had recent injuries. Many of the wounds were infected with gangrene. Many of the numerous victims were not expected to survive. We were told of the death of several victims in the villages.

*Mrs. Mary Skubova, midwife,  
132 East Seventh Street, New York, N. Y.*

*(Mrs. Skubova evidently witnessed one of the attacks of Polish students and hoodlums on Ukrainian societies. These are treated in a special chapter of this book.*

*Her experiences give a picture of the reign of terror spread by the Polish government and public. Her words call attention to the tenseness amidst which the Ukrainians have to work. The reader can imagine the tenseness of Ukrainian pupils and teachers in a period of "pacification" or pogroms on Ukrainian schools. If such a tenseness contributes to the pacification of the minds is left an open question.*

*The inquest which she describes is a typical Polish official preparation for a dementi. The Polish government speaks of the Metropolitan's dispensary in harsh words, in its replies to the Ukrainian petitions to the League of Nations.*

*She brought with her a number of photographs of the mutilated bodies of the victims of Polish atrocities. Those to whom the photographs were shown were so horrified by them that they advised us not to publish them. For the same reason were omitted certain portions of her deposition quoting Rev. Blozovsky's experiences.—Ed.)*

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## XXVIII.

## POLISH GOVERNMENT INTERFERES WITH RELIEF FOR SUFFERERS

On December 9, 1930, the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, sent to Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, of Lviv, twenty-five hundred dollars with the following cable:

"SENDING TWENTY FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR RELIEF OF SUFFERERS.

OBYEDNANNIA".

On December 10, 1930, the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, wrote to the Bishop the following letter:

"Yesterday we sent to you by telegraph through the Baltic American Line \$2,500 to support that humanitarian action which is carried under the auspices of Your Excellency, and which is intended for the relief of those who had fallen victims of pacification. . . . We hope that Your Excellency has received the contribution also from other sources in America. We continue to collect them, etc."

The letter was mailed on December 11, 1930; it was registered to insure delivery.

The money was sent in reply to appeals addressed to the United Ukrainian Organizations describing the urgent need of help for the victims of Polish atrocities. The appeals came from prominent Ukrainian individuals who succeeded in getting from Poland into Czechoslovakia. The reports mentioned that public hospitals and dispensaries refused to admit the victims of Polish atrocities.

The money was sent to the Archbishop because he has started a dispensary within the precinct of his cathedral.

On March 13, 1931, the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States received the following letter:

"At the instance of His Excellency the Metropolitan Andrew I beg leave to ask the officers of the United Ukrainian Organizations of United States to furnish more explicit information. To His Excellency's address there have arrived from America several sums of money, without any information whatsoever by whom they were sent and for what purpose. Whatever information was sent with the money through banks was not received, I give here the list of transmittances which were received by His Excellency: (1) \$2,500, through the Hamburg-America Line, Finanzabt. Hamburg 1, Ferdinanadstrasse 58. . . . Kindly find a suitable method to inform us WHO has sent the above sums and FOR WHAT PURPOSE. Perhaps, you can do it through American newspapers. In all probability these sums were designated for the relief of the victims of pacification and for the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Hospital in Lviv.

I would be grateful to you for your kind efforts and information so that His Excellency be able to distribute money properly.

Yours truly,

ALEXANDER KOVALSKY, *Canon of the Bishop's Chapter.*"

*(The telegram and the registered letter failed to reach the addressee for evident reasons: The Polish government is the mail carrier in Poland as well as the transmitter of telegrams,—the telegraph being there a state enterprise, subject to the ministry of Posts and Telegraphs.*

*The consequence of these confiscations is evident: the victims of pacification for whom the money was designated have not received it. For some of them the consequences of the Polish government's acts might have been very serious. The Polish government cannot excuse itself by the ignorance of the possibility of such consequences. Hence the logical conclusion is that they were within the purpose of the Polish government.—Ed.)*

## XXIX.

### SOME MORE REPORTS OF DEATHS

#### 6.

#### A PEASANT SHOT

"Dziennik Ludowy" reports:

"The village of Selyska, near the town of Bibrka, was visited by a squadron of 14th uhlans regiment from Lviv, accompanied by a detachment of police, who conducted the searches. Dmytro Pidhirny, 30 year old farmer, not wishing to meet the police, wanted to run into the forest. Corporal Vlad. Rodzinski fired after the escaping peasant and killed him on the spot."

"Dilo," Lviv, October 17, 1930.

#### 7.

The "Nedila" (Sunday), No. 8, reports that in the village of Podhorodyshche, district of Bibrka, there died ANTONY SNOVYDOVYCH, an intelligent peasant, 64 years of age, another victim of the events of the last autumn.

"Dilo," Lviv, March 1, 1931.

#### 8.

In the previous issue of the "Nedila" (Sunday) we read of the death in the village of Ruda, district of Bibrka, of MICHAEL HORYN, another victim of the last autumn's events.

"Dilo," Lviv, March 1, 1931.

#### 9.

We receive the following communication:

On Wednesday, February 18, 1931, there died in the village of Tyaziv, district of Stanyslaviv, another victim of the notorious events of the last autumn, MICHAEL LYTUVNETS, 35 years old.



well known in the whole region for his cultural work, the mayor of the village, member and director of all the cultural and enlightenment societies of his locality. He was a conscious and active Ukrainian and a man of great character.

Though still young, he succeeded in winning for himself the sympathies and confidence of the village. He combated successfully racial apostasy and various animosities of the "neighbors," owing to which he became salt in some people's eyes.

On October 17, an expeditionary detachment of Uhlans was passing through the village of Tyaziv. An officer with several soldiers turned into the village and went straight to Michael Lytvynets's household. A thorough search gave no results. They went after him into the fields, where he plowed, suspecting nothing untoward. When he greeted them, they began to whip him all over the body, then drove him to gallop before the horses, whipping all the way as they went, until they reached the neighboring village of Yamnytsya, four kilometers away (about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles.—Ed.), where the members of the expedition were making themselves at home for good. On the way Lytvynets fell to the ground, suffering the first heart attack of his life. The Uhlans placed him on a wagon that happened to be passing by, drove him to Yamnytsya and left him there. Since that day he began to suffer with heart troubles until death carried away this faithful son of his race, for whom he had worked without payment, sparing no contributions, true to the only ideal of keeping the village within the frame of the race.\*)

The Ukrainian public of the locality and region glorified his funeral by an unusual attendance. Three priests officiated at the funeral, and words of true sorrow at the grave were expressed by Rev. Posadsky, the parson of the village, and by Rev. Hlibovysky, the acting parson of the parish of Yezupol.

"Dilo," March 1, 1931.

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\* The above is a good supplement to the letter of Mr. Hoy Lee Ellis, one of the Polish propagandists, to American newspapers, in which he said: "Idealistic intelligentsia they do not possess at all, and all provocateurs of the Ukrainian movement are not working for ideals, but for their own material gains, being paid by Moscow and Berlin." (Vide: New York Herald Tribune, October 26, 1930.)

## XXX.

## THE WHOLESALE ATTACK OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ON THE UKRAINIAN CIVILIZATION

*(Various Ukrainian societies, associations, and organizations under the Polish dominion have always had a hard time of it. But never so as during the so-called "pacification". The summer and autumn of 1930 was a period of mass dissolution of Ukrainian organizations by the Polish government practiced on a large, unprecedented scale. The sum total of those organizations dissolved is not known yet, but it surely runs into hundreds. If such a wholesale destruction of the organized life of the Ukrainian race has not received the attention it merits is due only to the fact that alongside the wholesale flogging of Ukrainian people all other matters have paled.*

*To give the reader some idea of these activities of the Polish government, directed at the destruction of all the organized Ukrainian life in education, cooperation, and sport, this fragmentary chapter is inserted.—Ed.)*

## 1.

## THE PROBLEM POSITED

"The Manchester Guardian Weekly," of October 17, 1930, wrote:

"The 'pacification' of the Ukraine by means of these 'punitive expeditions' is probably the most destructive onslaught yet made on any of the national minorities and the worst violation of a minorities treaty. Indeed, it is a whole civilization, and a very high one, that has been wrecked within the last three weeks. The co-operatives, schools, libraries and institutes have been built up in years of work, sacrifice, and enthusiasm by the Ukrainians, almost entirely out of their own resources and in the face of immense difficulties. They feel the loss of these things almost as much as their inhuman physical sufferings."

"The Times," London, December 12, 1930, wrote:

"It must be made plain that the object of the recent repressions, whatever their faults, was not the destruction of Ukrainian culture."

## 2.

## ARRESTS AND SEARCHES IN THE DISTRICT OF DROHOBYCH

Mass searches and arrests were carried out in the city and the district of Drohobych on September 27. The work of the police started early in the morning and embraced the Ukrainian National Home, the Ukrainian Gymnasium and the Monastery of St. Basil's Ss. in Drohobych. They searched for ammunition, explosives and revolutionary literature. They found in all a bottle of denatured alcohol and a revolver in the possession of the night

guard of the Ukrainian National Home, and in the Gymnasium a dozen of commands of Boy Scouts and and appeals and a great number of legal Boy-Scout newspapers. Similar searches were carried out in the towns of Tustanovychi and Boryslav, with similar results.

On the basis of these searches there were arrested, among others, Mr. Volodymyr Kuzmowych, the director (principal) of the Ukrainian Gymnasium; Mr. Bayrak and Ivanenko, its teachers; deputy Antony Maksymowych; eng. Ostap Levytsky; eng. Ozarkevych, of Boryslav; Dr. Nicholas Terletsyky, physician of Tustanovychi, and many pupils (of the Gymnasium). The arrested number 46 persons.

Immediately following these events there appeared in the streets of the town extra editions of the local Polish "press," notifying the readers that a great amount of explosives and ammunition had been discovered by the authorities in the Ukrainian National Home, in the Ukrainian Gymnasium, and the Monastery of St. Basil's Sisters; that a Ukrainian revolution was in preparation to be started in the town of Drohobych, and that the center of this activity was the Ukrainian Gymnasium. The Ukrainian people stirred by these events called at once a meeting from which a delegation was sent to the supreme officer of the district Perembalski. The delegation, headed by Dr. Vytytsky, stated to the officer that in the district of Drohobych there was not one act of so-called sabotage, and demanded from the officer an explanation of the causes of the reprisals. Mr. Porembalski explained that he had neither ordered nor caused the searches or arrests. He said that the arrests were ordered by the judge of inquiry because the Boy Scouts, who did not go to schools, maintained a contact with the Ukrainian Military Organization. When the delegation remarked that the absence of all acts of sabotage in the district of Drohobych should point to something altogether different, Mr. Porembalski failed to answer. He could also quote no charges. As to the extra editions of the newspapers with invented and provocatory informations, Mr. Porembalski promised that he would not permit such news to be printed, but in the meantime these informations have been circulated by all the papers.

Not later than the very next morning the local Polish paper "Kurjer Podkarpacia" appeared with a full reprint of all the inventions and with supplementary information that the Ukrainian Gymnasium had been closed by the Polish government, ALTHOUGH THE GYMNASIUM WAS NOT CLOSED NOR SEALED AND THE CLASSES WERE HELD REGULARLY.



Mr. Porembalski, on being notified about this, promised to dispatch an official denial of all these reports to the Polish Telegraphic Agency.

All those who had been arrested were chained and taken to the inquisitory prison at Sambir, on September 27, at night. A numerous Ukrainian public gathered at the railroad station to see off the departing prisoners; they hoped that the matters would be cleared up soon and they would return soon to freedom.

"Dilo," Lviv, October 1, 1930.

*(Is there anything unnatural in the expectation of the Ukrainian societies that all the stories of horrid sensationalism published by the Polish press be at least stripped of the appearance of being official stories, by an appropriate dementi of the government?)*

*The dementi which the "Dilo" alleges to have been promised was not published.—Ed.)*

### 3.

#### DISSOLUTION OF UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

#### THE CLOSING OF THE UKRAINIAN "GYMNASIUM" (COLLEGE) IN DROHOBYCH

##### (a)

The Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education.

Warsaw, November 27, 1930, No. II 24571/30.

To the Gymnasium of the Ukrainian Pedagogic Society in Drohobych—Annulment of the rights and Dissolution.

To the Curator of the School District of Lviv.

I. According to Section 7, of the decree of May 1, 1929, No. II.—2875/29 on granting private middle schools of general education and teachers' colleges the rights of state schools (The Official Daily of the Min. of Relig. Denom. and Publ. Educ. No. 6, poz 75) I withdraw from the coeducational gymnasium of Ivan Franko of the Ukrainian Pedagogic Society at Drohobych the rights of state gymnasiums which were granted to the school by the decree of June 5, 1930, No. II.—11272/30, because that school does not fulfill the conditions of Sect. 4. b. of the quoted decree, especially does not educate the youth in the clearly state spirit and does not develop in them a respect for the state authorities and its decrees.

II. According to Sect. 13, of the preliminary law of June 27, 1850 (The Daily of State Laws, No. 308) I order the gymnasium



above named closed because this educational institution has assumed the character harmful in moral and political respect.

The youth of that school, frequenting the grades I to III, inclusively, may be accepted to higher state and private schools without respect in what language the education is conducted in them. That part of the pupils frequenting to the grades IV to VIII, inclusively, who did not take part in anti-state activities, may be admitted only to those higher schools with the Polish language of education and situated outside of the town of Drohobych.

Appropriate ordinances in this matter will be published by the Curator within his proper sphere of activities, of which he will notify the Ministry.

(Signed) Minister Czerwinski.

(b)

Curatorium of the School District of Lviv,

Lviv, November 31, 1930. No. 850/30.

MATTER: Annulment of the rights and dissolution of the private gymnasium of the Ukrainian Pedagogic Society at Drohobych.

To Mr. Michael Kiernicki, the preliminary principle of the private gymnasium of The U. P. S. in Drohobych.

I am bringing herewith to your knowledge the copy of the letter of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education in Warsaw, November 27, 1930, No. II—24571/30.

In connection with the enclosed order of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education I summon you to carry out strictly at once the following commands:

1. On Monday, November 3, 1930, before the classes are started, all the school activities should be suspended, and the pupils and their parents should be informed thereof by posting, before 8 o'clock, on the closed doors of what once was the school, the copy of the order of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education.

From that date the access to the rooms designated for the use of the school, should be made impossible for the pupils.

2. The applications of the parents for the admission of their children to continue their studies should be directed to the Curator of the Lviv School District and should be filed before November 15. Each application should be accompanied by the birth certificate, the last school diploma, and the name of the place in which the children would be placed by their parents, according to the

rules set up by the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education.

3. Official documents of the institution, catalogues, seals, blanks of diplomas, journals, acts of entries, examinations as well as the acts of the office referring to the teachers and pupils, should be handed over before November 3, to Mr. Jan Matlachowski, the director of the state gymnasium at Drohobych, and the receipt of this should be obtained.

One exhibit.

Curator of the School District, signed, Ig. Pytlakowski.

Curatorium of the School District of Lviv.

Lviv, November 31, 1930.

No. O—850/30.

Annulment of the rights and dissolution of the private gymnasium of the Ukrainian Pedagogic Society in Drohobych.

To the Directors of the Branch of the Ukrainian Pedagogic Society "Ridna Shkola" in Drohobych.

I am transmitting to your knowledge the copies of a letter by the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education in Warsaw, dated November 27, 1930, No. II—24571/30, and the local ordinances.

Curator of the School District, (signed) Ig. Pytlakowski.

("Dilo," Ukrainian daily, Lviv, November 6, 1930.)

*(The above documents were published by the "Dilo" in Polish, the original language of the decrees.—Ed.)*

#### 4.

### WHY WAS THE GYMNASIUM DISSOLVED!

### ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GYMNASIUM OF "RIDNA SHKOLA" IN DROHOBYCH

The branch of the "Ridna Shkola" at Drohobych considers it their duty to notify the Ukrainian public as follows:

1. For the last five years (which is since the time the Gymnasium of the "Ridna Shkola" in Drohobych received the so-called public right) NOT ONE PERSON OF THE TEACHERS BODY OR FROM THE PUPILS WAS ARRESTED. In the summer of this year THE FIRST ARREST OCCURRED, that of TWO PUPILS, charged with a bomb attempt in Boryslav. One of them was already released, and as to the other, the previous charge

against him was changed, in the indictment, to another. Among the 31 persons arrested on September 26, 1930, under the charge of treason, there were two members of the teachers' staff (the principal and a teacher) and two pupils. All of them were released. We state that out of that number of 31, 30 (thirty) have already left the prison. There remains imprisoned only one person, an ex-deputy (to the Polish seym) charged for his parliamentary activity, which has nothing to do with the Gymnasium.

2. THE BRANCH (OF THE "RIDNA SHKOLA") KNOWS OF NO CONCRETE DATA WHICH COULD HAVE SERVED THE OFFICIAL BOARDS OF EDUCATION AS A CAUSE OF DISSOLUTION OF THE GYMNASIUM. Perhaps, the cause was found in the charges against the teachers and pupils arrested on September 26, 1930. We confirm according to the truth, that the administration of education has so far conducted no disciplinary investigation and has given neither the arrested principal nor the arrested teacher any opportunity to clear themselves of the charges preferred against them, so that THE DECISION OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GYMNASIUM WAS MADE ON THE BASIS OF ONE-SIDED INFORMATIONS.

3. As to the arrests of September 26, 1930, which preceded the dissolution of the Gymnasium, the Polish press and the Polish radio station spread the news which we herewith correct: it is not true that two ILLEGAL organs, namely, the "Vatra" and the "Promin," were published in the Gymnasium; it is true, on the other hand, that both the "Vatra" and the "Promin" were published WITH THE PERMISSION of the Educational Council and had the character of the so-called pupil organs, the publication of which was regulated by a decree of the Ministry of Education dated October 17, 1927. N. O. Prez. 6314/27. It is not true that the said publications were circulated outside of the Gymnasium; they were circulated only among the pupils. It is not true that these publications had for their purpose to spread hatred of the State; their purpose was proclaimed in the first issue of the "Promin" (The Ray) in the following manner: "With the assistance of collaborators from among pupils, to give articles of literary-scientific contents for the purpose of increasing the knowledge of those mates who have no opportunity to work in every direction." It is not true that the publications were printed secretly by means of two cyclo-styles; it is true that both were printed openly, that the names of the members of the editorial staff were given in every issue, and that the cyclo-styles were the property of the Gymnasium, and were entered into the proper books. It

is not true that 38 pupils and teachers of the Gymnasium were arrested; there were arrested only two pupils and a teacher and a director. It is not true that the Gymnasium was the center of a rebellion, but it is true that the Gymnasium was a center of serious education. It is not true that the leaders of the Gymnasium "Plast" (Boy Scouts) among other things "urged the members to oppose actively the State authorities, organized collecting funds for illegal purposes, maintained a live contact with the center of the Ukrainian Military Organization, with the center in Germany." It is true that the leaders of the Gymnasium "Plast" (Boy Scouts) developed the Gymnasium scouting in accordance with the principles of international scouting, that they organized no illegal fund collections, but kept books of all their receipts and expenditures, and that they maintained no connection with the Ukrainian Military Organization, the center of which is unknown. Finally, it is not true that Volodymyr Kuzmowych, the principal of the Gymnasium, was one of the leaders of the "subversive" activities of the territory of the Drohobych district; Princ. Kuzmowych was one of the leaders in educating the youth of higher schools, and his "subversive activity" is known neither to him nor to any citizens of Drohobych.

4. The Branch of the "Ridna Shkola" confirms with a great astonishment that the Ministry of Education, while dissolving the Gymnasium, raised not only unwarranted political objections, but also charges of moral character. That the Gymnasium stood very high in ethical respect is admitted even by Poles. The teachers' staff worked for the pupils with full self-sacrifice and with understanding of their task, attained evident success in education and instruction of the pupils, a fact which was attested by all the official inspectors without exception. The management of the Gymnasium rested in the hands of Mr. V. Kuzmowych, well-known pedagogian and educational worker, whose work was also recognized by all the official inspectors as very promising and prominent. The dissolution of the Gymnasium destroyed a hard work of twenty years, it put a stop to efforts which were the pride of the entire Ukrainian public of the district of Drohobych, which cost them about half a million zlotys, spent in erecting for the school a splendid building, completed only a few months ago. The dissolution deprived hundreds of pupils of the possibility to continue their education and threw the families of all the teachers into destitute misery.

On behalf of the directors of the Branch of the "Ridna Shkola" in Drohobych: Dr. Patslavsky, president; A. Skybinsky, secretary. "Dilo," Lviv, November 11, 1930.



## 5.

## WHY WAS IT DISSOLVED?

In the matter of the Ukrainian gymnasium of Drohobych (dissolved by the Polish government) we received the following correspondence from Sambir:

On March 17, 1930, about 8:45 o'clock in the evening, during a Polish festival, a hand grenade of Polish manufacture was thrown into the building of the Polish society "Sokol" in Boryslav. The grenade failed to explode. The perpetrators were not caught, but, as the acts of criminal inquiry attest, the police "came, on the basis of confidential informations, to the conclusion" that the outrage could not have been committed by anybody else than two local pupils of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Drohobych, namely: Nicholas Seniv and Andrushko, and Michael Hnativ, a workingman. Although there was not the slightest proof of their guilt, investigation was dragged for some reason for fully five months and only then they released Andrushko, the pupil, and Michael Hnativ, the workingman, all the investigation against them having been discontinued on account of an absolute absence of evidence.

In view of the fact that three young innocent men had been detained for a long time and in view of the testimony of two witnesses testifying that they recognized the third one, the public prosecutor prepared an indictment act against Nicholas Seniv, the pupil, in which he was charged that he "neglected to report to the authorities that the unknown perpetrator had thrown a grenade, although he knew and could report about it in time about the intention without jeopardizing himself" and that by this omission he committed the crime of Section 9 of the law on explosives, of May 27, 1885. Even a person who has no legal education must be struck by this strange logic and legal construction of the indictment act, which asserted that Seniv had known that some unknown individual was to place a hand-grenade.

On the basis of this indictment act a trial was constituted before the tribunal of the Polish district court (in Sambir) on November 28, 1930. To be sure, two witnesses were found, both confidants of the police, who swore that they had seen Seniv stand at 8:45 at the porch of the "Sokol" at Boryslav, where the "academy" was held. Seniv, however, succeeded in giving a perfect "alibi" by a long series of witnesses, who testified on oath that on that evening, since 7:45 till 11 o'clock in the evening, he had been visiting, with another person, a reading room of "Prosvita" at

Boryslav, some six kilometers away, and that there he had been seen by a great number of witnesses. He had never left the reading room. That is why the tribunal, after a remarkable speech by his defense, Dr. Ivan Rogutsky, lawyer of Sambir, acquitted him.

It is noteworthy that this is the only case in the history of the Ukrainian Gymnasium at Drohobych that two pupils of the school were involved in an investigation charged with "sabotage." The trial just completed proved fully the innocence of the two pupils and falsehood of all the charges raised against them. But in spite of this Nicholas Seniv, though innocent, was in jail for six months and four days.

The evidence of his innocence was so clear that the public prosecutor failed even to appeal from the acquitting sentence.

The branch of the "Ridna Shkola" at Drohobych will file with the Curator of Schools at Lviv the minutes of the proceedings of the said trial and will demand the reopening of the inquiry as to the dissolution of the Ukrainian Gymnasium at Drohobych.

"Dilo," Lviv, December 9, 1930.

## 6.

### AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GYMNASIUM AT TARNOPOL.

On September 25, 1930, the state Gymnasium of Tarnopol, which used the Ukrainian language in its education, was dissolved. The Gymnasium was organized in 1898 in memory of 50-years jubilee of reign of the emperor Francis Joseph I. and it bore under the Austrian regime his name. Directly before the war a new splendid building was erected for it and the school has developed remarkably and came to be the largest Gymnasium in the city of Tarnopol, being the only Gymnasium in the territory of the voyvodship of Tarnopol, that used the Ukrainian language of education. In this year it had about 470 pupils.

The dissolution of the Gymnasium was a surprise. Mr. Pitel, the principal of the I. Polish Gymnasium (at Tarnopol) was commissioned to liquidate the Ukrainian Gymnasium. The pupils of the three lowest grades of the dissolved Gymnasium were to have the right, subject to the permission of the curator, to enter into the local (Polish) Gymnasiums, while the pupils of higher grades had the right to enter other Polish Gymnasiums in the country, with the exception of these Tarnopol and Rohatyn. In reality most of the pupils stayed at home as only a mere handful filed

their petitions to the curator to be admitted to other Gymnasiums so that it may be stated that hardly any of the pupils of the dissolved Gymnasium continues his studies.

The teachers' staff included four Poles, of whom three have already received state positions in the Gymnasiums at Rzeszow, Berezhany, and Tarnopol, respectively, and one (Mr. Pelczarski) is the secretary of the district election commission at Tarnopol. Of the Ukrainian teachers Dr. Sonevytsky has been already ousted from the State service, the ousting to take effect on February 1, 1931, without the benefits of old-age pension; another teacher was transferred to Terebovla, while others are awaiting orders . . .

In the place of the dissolved Ukrainian Gymnasium there was already opened in the city of Tarnopol a Polish Gymnasium for girls. The registry of pupils to the four lowest grades of the Polish Gymnasium has already been ordered and a part of the building of the dissolved Ukrainian Gymnasium, including the principal's office, the conference hall and the gymnastic hall, has been designated for the use of the newly opened Polish Gymnasium . . .

"Dilo," Lviv, October 28, 1930.

## 7.

### THE STATEMENT IN THE MATTER OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN GYMNASIUM IN ROHATYN

In view of the fact that there appeared in the press various reports not true to facts, about the dissolution of the private Gymnasium of the Branch of "Ridna Shkola" in Rohatyn, the directors of the Branch of the "Ridna Shkola" in Rohatyn consider it their duty to declare the following in the interest of truth:

1. It is not true that during the last months 36 pupils of the Rohatyn Gymnasium were arrested; on the other hand it is true that out of the whole number of pupils entered into this school, amounted to about three hundred, there were only three pupils arrested (by the name of: Semkiv, Tkatchuk, and Hladky), all three of them having already been released as free of all the charges.

2. It is not true that within that time there were arrested several members of the teachers' staff; it is true, however, that not one of the teachers' staff was arrested. There was arrested only the school physician Dr. Vlodymyr Vorobets in connection

with the organization of Boy-Scouts, of whose guilt the courts have not passed yet any final decision.

3. It is not true that at the occasions of two searches carried out in the wide building of the "Ukrainska Kasa" in Rohatyn, in which the Ukrainian Gymnasium is housed, there were carried out four (4) carloads of ammunition, explosives and anti-state literature; it is true, on the other hand, that from that building were carried away two small knives, which were used by the pupils in bookbinding; three (3) fire-crackers, which were left from the last summer school picnic; several copies of legal boy-scout literature and a new Polish grenade, which was found by the punitive expedition of September 23, 1930, in the wide attic of the building housing the Gymnasium where during a very careful search carried out on September 14, 1930, by the police of Rohatyn, nothing had been found, and where the pupils of the Gymnasium have had no access.

4. It is not true that all the threads of the attempted attack against the post office truck at Bibrka led to the Gymnasium of Rohatyn; it is true that Propokiv, the only student of the Gymnasium of Rohatyn, who was arrested in connection with this attempt, has already been released with no charge pending against him.

On behalf of the Branch of the "Ridna Shkola" in Rohatyn, Dr. Semen Hladky, president; Dr. Hr. Drohomysky, secretary.

"Dilo," Lviv, November 6, 1930.

## 8.

### IN THE MATTER OF DISSOLVED UKRAINIAN GYMNASIUMS

It is reported that on December 11 and 12, there arrived at Warsaw two Ukrainian delegations of parents of pupils of the two Ukrainian gymnasiums, namely, that of Drohobych and that of Rohatyn, which had been dissolved by the Polish government.

The Minister of Public Education refused to see the delegations, but ordered them to be received by Mr. Pieracki, the director of intermediary education.

Both delegations saw also the director of the department of racial minorities in the Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Suchenek, and the vice-minister O. Zongolowicz.

The purpose of the delegations was to convince the school authorities that the reasons of dissolving the two gymnasiums were either so ungraspable and general, or so exaggerated and flimsy,



that a revision is necessary. The delegations demanded an immediate inquiry and, while they will last, special courses should be opened which might make it possible for the pupils to study.

Unfortunately, the parents of the pupils did not succeed in attaining anything. They merely convinced themselves that the charges and accusations which were given at the dissolution of the gymnasiums were not the only ones. It is a strange phenomenon that the highest authorities in education refused to examine the defense of the representatives of the parents of more than 600 children and 25 teachers' families.

The societies maintaining the schools will again appeal to the curator for permission to open the courses, which means they will start anew the very efforts which the delegations had in mind when starting for Warsaw . . .

"Dilo," December 21, 1930.

In a letter dated Warsaw, November 25, 1930, the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education, replies to the letter of the "Ridna Shkola" of Rohatyn to re-examine the matter of the dissolved Gymnasium of Rohatyn. He refuses to reopen the matter since his decree of September 24, 1930, was final. His decision could be only sued in the Highest Administrative Tribunal.

*The document was published in Polish, in the language of the original, in the Ukrainian daily "Dilo," Lviv, December 30, 1930.—Ed.)*

## 9.

### UKRAINIAN DEPUTY ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN GYMNASIUMS

Mrs. Milena Rudnytsky, in her address delivered in the Polish Sejm, at Warsaw, during the debate on the budget of the Ministry of Education, on January 14, 1931, said:

"In conclusion I would like to say a few words about the dissolution of the State Gymnasium at Tarnopol. Of that Gymnasium profited primarily children of peasantry,—this was truly a peasant gymnasium. At the moment of its dissolution there were in it 470 pupils, but some time ago their number was seven and eight hundred.

"By the decree of the Minister (of Public Education) the school was dissolved. And again the dissolution was preceded by searches, arrests and provocational reports of the Polish press. In their campaign against the Gymnasium took part the pupils of the three Polish gymnasiums at Tarnopol, who arranged a mass meeting before the monument of Mickiewicz and passed resolutions demanding the immediate dissolution of the Ukrainian Gymnasium. (In this manner Polish state schools, or those private schools having the rights of public schools, understand the "education of their pupils for peace cohabitation of all the citizens of the state"). The teachers and pupils were called 'sabot-

agists.' One of the teachers, Ivan Halushchynsky, and not a few pupils were arrested, but the teacher and most of the arrested pupils have already been released and their prosecution discontinued. Three pupils are still under arrest under the suspicion of participation in sabotage. No court trial was held as yet and nobody's guilt was proved. But should such a fact even happen, that three pupils of the school should be involved in the sabotage, would this be a sufficient reason to punish for the fault of three individuals several hundred boys and several score of teachers? In the place of the dissolved Ukrainian Gymnasium the Polish government has created a Polish State Gymnasium for girls, handing them over the building of the liquidated Ukrainian school. As a result of this there exist at present at Tarnopol four Polish State gymnasiums, and on the territory of the voyvodship of Tarnopol eight more Polish State Gymnasiums (at Berezhany, Brody, Buchach, Zbarazh, Zolochiv, Kaminka, Terebovla and Chortkiv), in all 12 schools; besides them there are in that voyvodship four Polish State colleges for teachers (Berezhany, Zalizchyky, Chortkiv, and Tarnopol) and one Polish State industrial school at Tarnopol,—total of 17 Polish State higher schools. On the other hand, IN THE ENTIRE LARGE TERRITORY OF THAT VOYVODSHIP OF TARNOPOL, WHICH NUMBERS SOME 800,000 UKRAINIAN PEOPLE—THERE IS NOT EVEN ONE HIGHER STATE SCHOOL. (*Italics are mine.*—Ed.)

"You will surely ask, gentlemen, what has been done by those Ukrainian youths, numbering upward of half a thousand persons, who were deprived by the dissolution of the three Ukrainian gymnasiums of the possibility to continue their studies.

"Well, as to those youths, the Minister of Education has issued a decree by which the pupils of the three lower grades may enter any of the POLISH Gymnasiums, while the pupils of the grades IVth to VIIIth may be admitted only by special permission of the curator of the Lviv School District and only to Polish schools and only outside of Tarnopol, Rohatyn, and Drohobych. I think that such a decree which prohibits Ukrainian fathers to educate their children in Ukrainian schools is contrary to the Constitution and to the Racial Minorities Treaty, especially to the Sections of 109, and 110, of the Constitution. By what right can the Minister prohibit thousands of Ukrainian children to continue their studies in their mother tongue, in the existing Ukrainian, state and private, Gymnasiums? About the selection of the school for children fathers should decide, and not the school authorities, the more so in the case of those pupils against whom there is not a shadow of suspicion. Besides, the decree of the Minister of Education not only has deprived thousands of pupils of the chance to study in the schools of their mother tongue but it is also equivalent to taking from those children altogether all the chance of studying, since in the schools named by me the pupils were mostly sons and daughters of less prosperous inhabitants of neighboring localities, whose means do not permit them to send their children to study at distant schools."

"Does the Minister of Education realize the consequences of his decrees? Depriving thousands of Ukrainian youths of all the possibility to continue their studies—isn't this the best method to revolutionize these youths? Did the Minister of Education wish to attain such results, did he wish to furnish the Ukrainian Military Organization with new converts? Let us just think for a few moments: Hundreds of boys in their teens, cut off from school, from books, condemned to compulsory leisure, convinced of the wrong done to them—isn't this the best material for revolutionarists?"

## 10.

THE EPILOGUE OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE  
UKRAINIAN GYMNASIUM IN TARNOPOL.

A trial of three students of the Ukrainian State Gymnasium at Tarnopol was held on February the 7th and the 8th before the tribunal and the jury of the court at Tarnopol. The accused, Basil Sosnovsky, 18 years old, student of the Vth grade of the gymnasium; Basil Solonyuka, 18 years, student of VIIth grade; and Bohdan Melnyk, 18 years, student of VIIth grade, are all sons of peasantry, lived in Kurivtsi, district of Tarnopol. The indictment charged that the three had set on fire, on September 16, three stacks of grain in the village of Kurivtsi, valued at 16,750 zlotys, owned by the landlord Victor Jurystowski. Besides this, the indictment charged Sosnovsky alone with burning down a stack of grain in Kurivtsi on September 1, 1931, to the detriment of the same landlord.

The three students had been arrested by the State police on September 18, 1930, and they had been examined at the post of the State police at Velyky Hlubichok, where they had been forced by beatings,—as it was proved by sworn testimonies of many witnesses at the trial,—to admit that they had committed arsons. This was the case which was one of the chief bases of the dissolution of the Ukrainian State Gymnasium in Tarnopol on September 25, 1930. It was said that the Gymnasium brings out self-confessed firebrands, whose guilt was thus proven.

As a matter of fact, the accused were perfectly innocent and had nothing to do with the arsons, as this was proved so much beyond all doubts at the trial that the jury,—all of them peasants, and in their majority Polish colonists,—denied the questions as to their guilt, and the tribunal passed a verdict of acquittal and at once released the accused lads . . .

It remains now to be seen what conclusions would be drawn from this trial by the political administration of the State and the school authorities, and whether the Gymnasium, which was dissolved on the basis of the above named arsons, will be reopened.

"Dilo," February 12, 1931.

*(The report is significant as an attempt of the Polish government to prove its charges against Ukrainian schools.)*

*For months the Polish government has been talking of higher Ukrainian schools as breeding places of sabotage. The Polish press wrote and expatiated upon the charge. The Minister of the Interior spoke of it to*



the representatives of foreign press. Polish propaganda bureaus spread the charge abroad. The Polish government wrote of it to the League of Nations, in its reply to various protests against closing of the schools. The Polish government simply had to come out with evidence. It decided to have at least one conviction, though hundreds would be needed to any unbiased person to prove that the "subversive" spirit was so general in those schools as to justify their dissolution.

It was an easy matter for the Polish government to get a conviction. The panel is drawn by Polish administrative officials, the jury box can be easily packed with a majority of Poles, even most rabid Ukrainophobes, for instance, Polish colonists in Ukraine.

But still the regular courts proceedings are such as to make the task rather difficult. Even in Polish courts arguments are presented by two sides, evidence is offered and refuted, the judge quotes the law and interprets it, and sifts the evidence presented. It is clear that even with the tribunal and the jury fixed the prosecution cannot always be sure of conviction, that evidence presented may be so flimsy that it may fail to convince even the friends of persecution.

The Poles help themselves in such cases by the atmosphere of the court. All trials against Ukrainians in which inter-racial relations are directly involved, indirectly those relations are involved in every case where one party speaks Ukrainian, and the other Polish,—are held in a tense atmosphere. If the case is of any prominence, Polish newspapers have been writing about it for weeks and months in advance, circulating wildest rumors about the defendants, branding them as proved criminals even before the day of their trial was set. Neither judges nor jury harbor any doubts as to the defendant's guilt. In such an atmosphere any convicting verdict or sentence is sure of the applause of the appreciative public.

The trials, however, have another danger for the Polish administration. If the Polish public opinion is not very particular how the conviction was attained, the minutes of the proceedings may be reported in the papers. The Polish censor, of course, may help against the Ukrainian press. But his power ends at the Polish frontier. What if the proceedings will be given in foreign press? What if the proceedings will be given to the public of some foreign country, and that public has a sense of justice more keenly developed and is ready to act when it sees justice grossly violated? The Polish courts have been known to squirm under foreign protests, and many a Polish tribunal has made a complete volte-face and set free men condemned in the courts of all instances. That is why the Polish government has to select for a persecution in courts only the cases in which it is almost sure of conviction.

What interpretation then should be placed now upon the fact that the Polish government has failed to present those hundreds of cases of sub-



*versive activities by the pupils of higher Ukrainian schools, of which it has boasted? What conclusion is to be drawn from the fact that it has presented to the courts only a few cases, and in each of them failed to convince even its own courts? Shall the foreign public opinion take the charges of Polish propaganda as proved when the Polish administration cannot prove even one case to the satisfaction of its own courts?*

*What is the meaning of that wide Polish propaganda, of the feverish activities of consuls, ambassadors, newspapermen, chambers of commerce? To make up by repetition for what the charges lack in the inward power to convince?*

*There is still another practical side of the trial to be considered. The decision of the court is an acquittal. It seems as if justice have been done to the Ukrainian students. Has it been done in fact? To be sure, they will be released where they might have been detained. But the loss of personal freedom is not the only punishment they had been subjected to. They had been driven from the school and deprived of opportunity to continue their studies. Will the Polish government remunerate them for these losses? Nothing of the kind. Will the Polish government give them a chance to come back to their school. No. Their school was dissolved on the charge that all its pupils are like those who were arrested and put on trial. Now that the arrests were proved to be false and the charges exposed as unwarranted, the Polish government persists in its refusal to reopen the school. The Polish court may acquit now that the Ukrainians have already been punished,—by the administration, by means of a summary proceeding, in which an administrative officer arrested, charged, tried, and convicted, without witnesses, lawyers, and public, in which he served as an accuser and advocate, as jury and judge, and his own executioner. Thus, in spite of the acquittal, the Polish oppressor still carries the day.*

*And with these defendants were punished hundreds of other youths against whom not even such flimsy charges could be proffered.*

*And all this is advertised as a method of pacification of a race, restless without cause.—Ed.)*

## 11.

### CLOSING OF THE SCHOOL OF "RIDNA SHKOLA" IN STANYSLAVIV

We are notified from the city of Stanyslaviv:

On Monday, September 23, while classes were held in the 7-grades public school of the "Ridna Shkola" of Markian Shashkevych, a great number of police headed by a commissar entered the school and ordered the management of the school to release all the children since "the school is dissolved." After the children

were released, the police searched all the rooms and the office of the school, took all the school documents and several maps, and then sealed the door of the school.

The school of Markian Shashkevych has existed already 20 years, and in this year it was frequented by 270 children.

The sealing of the building makes it impossible to carry on the instruction in the supplementary vocational school of the "Ridna Shkola" in Stanyslaviv, which held its classes in the same building.

"Dilo," September 25, 1930.

*(This is a sample of administrative proceedings against a school. The Polish government does not specify its reasons for this act. Nor does it care that by "sealing" the building, which is equivalent to padlocking, the government closes another school which holds its classes in the same building. If the government had to apply to the court for permission to close a school, it could never get away so easily: it would have to cite concrete illegal acts, specific persons, places, and so on. Here, the charge, if made at all, is made so general, broad, irrelevant and evasive that no defense is possible. The books and other documents of the school are seized to be examined by the government in hope that perhaps they might furnish some incriminating evidence to justify the dissolution of the school already accomplished. Should the school even succeed in bringing the matter to the court and prove the charges against it false, still, after such a raid, it would have a great difficulty in reorganizing its scattered pupils, and still greater difficulties in obtaining permission from the government to reopen.—Ed.)*

## 12,

### DISSOLUTION OF CENTERS OF ADULT EDUCATION.

#### FROM THE DOCUMENTS OF OUR TIMES. FURTHER DISSOLUTIONS OF UKRAINIAN INSTITUTIONS IN HORODENKA.

We received from the town of Horodenka the following document:

The Supreme Officer of the district of Horodenka, No. III. 5/5/31. Horodenka, January 13, 1931.

To the directors of the Reading-Room of the "Prosvita" in Horodenka (Kotyktivka), in care of pres. P. D. Romanyuk.

By a decree, dated January 7, 1931, No. B. B. 3018/Ho., the Voyvoda of Stanyslaviv has decided, according to the Sections

24 and 25 of the Statute of November 15, 1868, as quoted in the Official Publication of the Austrian Laws, No. 134, to dissolve the society "Reading-Room of 'Prosvita'" in the town of Horodenka, in the district of Horodenka, the by-laws of which had been affirmed by the decree of the (Austrian) Governor (of Galicia—Ed.) No. 91073/907, because the said society oversteps the sphere of its activities as fixed by the said by-laws.

In particular it has been ascertained that the said society engages in political anti-State activities, the proof of which are two stubs of contribution booklets for the benefit of the "Boyovy Fond" ("The Struggle Fund"), which were found during a search in the home office of the Reading-Room. This material proves that the society takes part in subversive activity, since the purpose of the funds acquired from the sale of such booklets is to support the activities of the subversive organization by the name of the Ukrainian Military Organization . . .

The Supreme officers of the district,

(signed) HUEBNER, M. P.

"Dilo," the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, January 30, 1931.

*(The Polish censor has deleted a dozen lines of the editor's comment on the above decree.*

*The document was published by the "Dilo" in Polish, the official language of the dissolving order.*

*The decree is a sample of the procedure of Polish administrative authorities in the dissolution of local societies. It is valuable for its attempt to give concrete reasons for the dissolution, thus giving the reader data to judge for himself what reasons are sufficient for a Polish official to dissolve a Ukrainian local cultural center.*

*The supreme officer of the district thinks that the society's subversive activity has been ascertained by the police finding in the rooms of the society stubs of collection booklets for the benefit of the "Boyovy Fond".*

*That the "Boyovy Fond" does not necessarily mean a revolutionary or subversive fond is evident. The connection between the collections for that "fund" and the Ukrainian Military Organization should be proved first and not taken merely stated for being proved.*

*Should such connection be proved, should really all the money collected by such booklets be turned over to the Ukrainian Military Organization, still the discovery of the stubs of such booklets is no proof that the members of the Reading-Room had collected the money by means of those booklets. The stubs might have been left there by some one else than the members. They might have been planted.*

*It does not appear how the search was made at which the stubs are supposed to have been found. Was there any officer of the Reading-Room present, or were all the people driven out of the room or house, the police alone remaining free to do whatever they pleased (as is usually the case in Poland)?*

*Should even some members collect contributions to the "Struggle Fund" and should its real designation be the support of the Ukrainian Military Organization, should the society be responsible for what was not done by the society in its corporate character? Why then do civilized countries refuse to recognize the principle of the corporate responsibility of societies for the acts of their members? If this principle, though not accepted by civilized countries, still is the law in Poland, then every Polish organization should be blamed for criminal acts of its members. Where to stop in drawing the logical conclusions of the principle?*

*And then if really the "Struggle Fund" goes to the Ukrainian revolutionary organization, if really Ukrainian village societies collect money for its support, then on what ground does the Polish government claim that the Ukrainian revolutionary organization is financed by foreign governments?—Ed.)*

### 13.

#### DISSOLUTION OF UKRAINIAN BOY-SCOUT ORGANIZATION.

##### a.

#### DISSOLUTION ORDER

I. The Supreme Officers of the Ukrainian National Society for the Protection of Children and Youth brings to the notice of the public the order of dissolution of the Ukrainian Boy-Scouts Organization, which reads as follows:

"The Supreme Officer of the City District of Lviv, No. St. 1368/16. Lviv, on September 26, 1930.

"To the Ukrainian National Society for the Protection of Children and Youth. In the matter of the Liquidation of the branches, institutes, enterprises, etc. of the 'Plast' (Boy-Scouts). To the Supreme Officers of the Ukrainian National Society for the Protection of Children and Youth—in care of Mr. Modest Karatnitsky, Lviv, 43 Sykstuska Street.

"The Supreme Officer of the city district of Lviv orders herewith the Supreme Officers of the Ukrainian National Society for the Protection of Children and Youth in Lviv to dissolve forthwith all the existing Branches, Institutes, Enterprises, etc. of the "Plast", respectively the "Ukrainian Boy-Scouts Organization," and, in pursuance of the sect. 7, of the decree dated April 20, 1854,



as published in the (Austrian) Diary of the Law, Nr. 96, enjoins them from organizing in the future and in any form whatsoever any branches, institutes, enterprises, etc. directly or indirectly through their own district or local branches, since such an activity has not been foreseen in the by-laws of the Society as confirmed by the Lviv Voyvoda's edict of November 1, 1923, No. 18844 pr. 1923, and the plan of the change of the by-laws in this direction was rejected by the Lviv Voyvoda's edict dated September 18, 1929, No. B.P.134/5, 1929.

"Moreover it was confirmed that the "Supreme Command of the Boy-Scouts", acting illegally as a Section, or Commission of the "Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Children and Youth", conduct consciously among the school troops of boy-scouts an activity manifestly contrary to the relevant directions of the proper school Authorities, by issuing to branches instructions and orders, by conducting the lists of the members of the branches, by ordering them to send in, and receiving, quarterly and other reports of activities of such branches, further, 2, by maintaining an organized connection with the branches of "Boy-Scouts" that exist strictly illegally; and finally, 3, by their agreement with the activities of individual branches of the "Boy-Scouts" which have a manifestly anti-State character.

"The injunction to develop any sides of the Boy-Scout activities carries with itself the enjoinder of wearing by Ruthenian Boy-Scouts of uniforms and Boy-Scouts insignias.

"The Officers are ordered also to liquidate, within 14 days, all the Branches, Institutes, Enterprises, etc. of the "Plast" (Boy-Scouts) already in existence and to file within that time with the office of the Supreme Officer of the City District of Lviv a report of the completed liquidation of the "Plast" (Boy-Scouts), and this under the penalty of the dissolution of the "Ukrainian National Society for the Protection of Children and Youth" in Lviv and of all its branches.

"From this order an appeal may be made to the Office of the Voyvoda of Lviv, through the Office of the Supreme Officer of the City District of Lviv, within 14 days starting from the day following the day of the service of this order,—the appeal, however not to have the power of stopping the liquidation.

"The Supreme Officer of the City District of Lviv.

(Signed) GALASS."

"Dilo," October 4, 1930.

*(The document itself was printed by the Ukrainian daily in Polish, the document's original language.—Ed.)*

b.

*(As to the reaction of the Ukrainian Boy-Scouts to this dissolution, vide Chapt. XIII, of this book, entitled: UKRAINIAN BOY-SCOUTS APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE WORLD AGAINST POLISH PERSECUTIONS, p. 44.—Ed.)*

## c.

A UKRAINIAN DEPUTY ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE  
DISSOLUTION OF THE BOY-SCOUTS ORGANIZATION

Mrs. Milena Rudnytsky, the Ukrainian Deputy to the Polish seym, on the dissolution of the Ukrainian Boy-Scouts.

During the debate, in the Polish seym, at Warsaw, on the budget of the Ministry of Education, the deputy said, on January 14, 1931:

"It has to be noted that until September 26, 1930, the 'Plast', the Ukrainian Scouting Organization, was an organization patent and legal, against whose activities the authorities did not proceed. It existed as a section of the Ukrainian National Society for the Protection of Children and Youth. The president of this Society was a justice of the (Polish) Court of Appeals, and the Scouting Section to the very moment of its dissolution was headed by a teacher of the state college for teachers, who is still teaching. The Ukrainian Scouting had its own legally published organ and its other legal publications, in which it published its orders and gave the reports of its activities. Now this organization, fully patent, standing under the open control of the authorities, was the most beloved organization of the Ukrainian youth, who—I confirm with the full responsibility of a mother, teacher, and public worker,—had upon the youth a most beneficial influence and it had to wait for the period of "pacification" to me "pacified"—that is, dissolved by the order of the supreme officer of the city district of Lviv, on September 26, 1930."

## d.

UKRAINIAN SCOUT BOYS ON TRIAL FOR  
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

The trial of 20 members of the Ukrainian Scout-boys Organization at the city of Zolochiv, which had been adjourned on December 18, 1930, was continued on January 16, 1931. Among those accused was also: Rev. M. Khmilovsky, the president of the Society for the Protection of Children and Youth, at Zolochiv.

The indictment charged all the accused with the violation of the section 305, of the Criminal Code, i.e. organizing and belonging to an illegal and "subversive" society.

After the evidence had offered that all the accused were members of the branch of the Society for the Protection of Children and Youth and as such constituted the scouting section of the Society, in accordance with the charter and the by-laws of the Society, all the accused were acquitted.

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, January 27, 1931.)

*(If the editor of the "Dilo" had permitted himself to publish a false report of similar content, the copy would have been probably suppressed and the editor brought to trial for some charge.*

*The charges of illegal and subversive activities were made against the Ukrainian Boy-Scouts from the Polish side quite often. The correspondent of the London Times, writing on December 12, and December 18, 1930,—the latter was exactly the date on which the trial at Zolochiv was adjourned,—evidently took the Polish charge at its face value. The accusers, however, failed later to convince even the Polish court, so manifestly willing to be convinced, of the truth of the charges proffered.—Ed.)*

## 14.

UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVES IN THE PERIOD OF  
"PACIFICATION."

## a.

UKRAINIAN COOPERATISTS ON THE CHARGE OF  
POLITICAL CHARACTER OF UKRAINIAN  
COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS.UKRAINIAN COOPERATION AND THE CURRENT EVENTS.  
THE AUDITING UNION OF THE UKRAINIAN COOPERA-  
TIVES ON THE EVENTS OF THE DAY.

Friends Cooperatists! We live in unusually difficult times. After-war misery does not disappear. Quite the contrary, a prolonged economic crisis has been holding us since the autumn of the previous year in merciless, more and more tight pincers. An intensified competitive struggle for the markets of the world, scarcity of cash, the ruin of the purchasing power of the consumer, superfluous and irregular supply of farming products, which is with us still so little adapted to the markets of the world,—all this destroys the balance of the world economy, especially in such neglected and backward countries as this. This misfortune stares already into the windows of our cooperative institutions. The village closes itself up into its old narrow shell, avoids purchases even of the most necessary seeds, machinery, or fertilizers,—and in spite of it sinks in usury.

The common sense of the Ukrainian village, acquired by the experiences of centuries, notes that a great misfortune does not like to walk alone. And in fact, unusual economic hardships were joined by a political misery. For a long time in the past around

the Ukrainian cooperative movement there have been burning political passions. The development of the Ukrainian cooperation, so beautiful if the regrettable political reality be taken into consideration, has for long given the scare to these or to those anti-Ukrainian groups. For a long time we have encountered inimical efforts to decry our cooperation as being not an economic, but a political organization, and an anti-state one at that. We have been set aside long ago from the credits in state banks. It is to persecute us that a principle, not heard of or practiced anywhere else in the world, was proclaimed from the rostrums of the Sejm that cooperatives should be not racial but territorial, which means that in the place of the Ukrainian cooperation there should arise separate cooperative movements for the Podolia, Hutsulschchyna, Volhynia, Polisia . . . For several weeks people unknown to our cooperatists are burning stacks on the estates of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. Burning of other people's grain is surely not the road of our cooperatist work and surely not our method of emancipation! Our cooperation builds with the moral and material forces of the people its own highway for the general good. Our cooperative movement already unites hundreds of thousands of members, citizens of various religions and political parties, but it has never used bombs or arsons. We have been, and we will remain, champions of exclusively Ukrainian cooperation, which could be a substratum of the cooperative idea. On the basis of mutuality, self-help, solidarity, and political neutrality we tread on par with the cooperatists of the entire world. And still the blind street rabble instigated against us turns more and more strongly also against the Ukrainian cooperative movement. It came finally to this that on September 15, at night, a criminal hand threw a bomb into the storehouse of the District Union in Sokal,—which fortunately failed to explode,—that the cooperative of Voyutycki, district of Sokal, was burnt down lately, that in many local and district cooperatives the state police conducts searches. A Cracow newspaper slandered us that the Ukrainian cooperative movement is financed by the underground revolutionary organization, the "UVO"!

Taking all this into consideration, and being well aware of the inflammation of the country, due to the approaching elections and the sabotages, we once again raise our old slogan: Let us keep our cooperation far from political strife! Especially in this period of profound economic distress have we to strain all our strength in order to protect our past achievements, to strengthen the dam protecting our villages against usury in goods and cash, in order



to safeguard them against further ruin! United by the great universal cooperative idea we guard our institutions against inimical elements blinded by wild passions. Let us ascertain if all our homes are insured against fire and burglary! And before all let us not be led astray from the calm gravity of our great work.

(The "Hospodarsko-Kooperatyvny Chasopys"—The Farming-Cooperative Gazette, No. 39, Lviv, September 28, 1930.)

*(The periodical is the official organ of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives.*

*The appeal was issued by the directors of the Union. It was reprinted by several Ukrainian papers, evidently meeting with their approval.*

*The appeal adduces facts to prove that the Ukrainian cooperatives have become the butt of denunciation of the Polish chauvinistic press and public, —an aspect of the Ukrainian-Polish relations, which were passed over in silence by the London Times correspondent with the result that the reader might think that the Ukrainian cooperatives were not included by the Polish government among the organizations screening Ukrainian revolutionists of the "UVO" and were not made to suffer during the "pacification."*

*The document quotes some data to show in what way the Ukrainian cooperatives became victims of the so-called "pacification" by the Polish government and the so-called "revanche" by secret armed bands of Polish hooligans.*

*It depicts vividly enough the grave consequences which might ensue for the Ukrainian village from the destruction of the Ukrainian cooperative movement. The village simply sinks into economic barbarism and becomes prey of usury, misery, and exploitation.*

*These are the various standpoints from which the campaign of the Polish governments against the Ukrainian cooperative movement have to be viewed.—Ed.)*

(b)

*"A DANGEROUS CONFERENCE" ON AGRICULTURE.*

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## FROM THE DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME.

The editor received the following letter of the supreme officer of the district of Rohatyn:

The Supreme Officer of Rohatyn,

No. 4209 (RO) 30.

The Branch of the "Silsky Hospodar" (The Country Farmer) in Rohatyn.

In the Matter of Permission to hold a Conference.

Rohatyn, September 11, 1930.

Oo the Branch of the Nat. Soc. "Silsky Hospodar," in Rohatyn.

In reply to your application, dated September 11, 1930, for the permission to hold a conference on agriculture on September 13, 1930, at home office of the Branch of the "Prosvita" in Rohatyn, I forbid herewith to hold such a conference, and this in view of the fact that a general situation of safety requires this and in view of the fact that amidst the sentiments which prevail at present the meeting might assume a character dangerous to public safety and order.

Against this order you may appeal through this Supreme Officer to the Voyvoda at Stanislaviv within 14 days counting from the day following the day of service.

The Supreme Officer of the district (signed) St. Harmata.

All commentaries are superfluous.

("Novy Chas," the Ukrainian triweekly, Lviv, September 26, 1930).

*(The document itself is printed in Polish, the language of the original.*

*The editor of the "Novy Chas" omits all the comments. His readers will know that the document is nothing unusual in the history of the Polish administration. Such documents various Ukrainian societies are receiving all along. Whenever officials had no pretext at hand to prohibit a Ukrainian conference, they usually knew beforehand that the conference will threaten public peace and order.—Ed.)*

## 15.

THE ATTACK ON UKRAINIAN VOLUNTARY FIRE-  
BRIGADES

## MEMBERS OF THE "LUH" ON TRIAL

The trial of three members of the "Luh" of Komariv, indicted for shooting at a policeman, was brought to the conclusion. The three were cleared of all guilt and acquitted.

"Dilo," Lviv, September 26, 1930.

*(The above is the outcome of a trial against the members of the "Luh", Ukrainian voluntary fire-brigades.*

*The by-laws of the society call it "Gymnastic Society and Fire-Brigade 'Luh' ". These by-laws, approved by the decree of Voyvoda of Lviv, No. 5061, dated March 25, 1925, state in Sect. 1, that the purposes of the Society are:*

*"I. HUMANITARIAN: 1. to help during fires; 2. to help during floods;*

*"II. CULTURAL: 1. to disseminate enlightenment among its members; 2. to spread interest in gymnastic exercises and sporting games; 3. to develop social life."*

*Many of these societies were dissolved. The dissolution was justified by the Polish Minister of the Interior in his note to the League of Nations by the fact that in the districts in which the "Luh" had many branches, there were many acts of sabotage.*

*The trial from which the above report gives the result was an effort of the Polish government to prove in the courts its allegations.—Ed.)*

## 16.

A SAMPLE OF SUMMERY OF DISSOLUTION OF TWO  
MONTHS IN ONE PROVINCE.

## THE LIST GROWS. . . .

THE LIQUIDATION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURAL AND  
ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETIES IN THE PROVINCE OF LVIV

No. 15, of the official daily of the voyvodship of Lviv, December, 1930, states that the following reading-rooms (branches) of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) were dissolved by the Polish government: Rozjaliv; Vilka near Verbytsya; Vynnyky (in the dis-

trict of Sokal); Komarovo (district of Sokal); Hrushiv (district of Drohobych); Dovzhneva (district of Sokal); Skole (district of Lisko); Khoshevychi (district of Rudky); Chyzhykiv (district of Lviv); Vasyliv (district of Rava Ruska); Znesinya (district of Lviv); Zboyiska (district of Lviv); Berezka (district of Dobromyl). In all 13 reading-rooms were dissolved in the month of December.

At the same time there were dissolved the following athletic societies and fire-brigades of the "Luh": in Verbytsya (district of Rava Ruska); Zamochoch (district of Zhovkva); Derevnja (district of Zhovkva); Vilka Verbytska (district of Rava); Sulymomiv (district of Zhovkva); Dytyatychi (district of Mostyska); Drohovychi (district of Bibrka); Nynovychi (district of Yaroslav); Remeniv (district of Lviv); Nyzhankovychi (district of Peremyshl); Volostkiv (district of Mostyska); Hrushatychi (district of Peremyshl); Yarychiv Stary (district of Lviv). In all 13 branches of the "Luh" were dissolved.

The following branches of the "Sokil" were dissolved: in Kreviv (district of Zhovkva); Zhovkva; Staryava (district of Dobromyl); Dorohomyshl (district of Yavoriv); Patskovychi (district of Peremyshl); Byblo (district of Peremyshl); Stavchany (district of Horodok); Borshchovychi (district of Peremyshl); Halychanoviv (district of Horodok); Storinna (district of Horodok); and Rudavytsya (district of Lviv). In all 11 branches of the "Sokil".

The following number of the Daily of the voyvodship of Lviv reports the dissolution of further reading-rooms of the "Prosvita", namely of those in the following villages: Senkivtsi (district of Rava); Chaykivtsi (district of Rudky); Hoholiv (district of Sokal); Khlopyatyn (district of Sokal). In all 4 reading-rooms of the "Prosvita".

There were also dissolved the branch of the "Sokil" in the following localities: Karachyniv (district of Horodok); Yarychiv Novy (district of Lviv); Ryshkova Vola (district of Yaroslav); Zapytiv (district of Lviv); Parchach (district of Sokal); Tseperiv (district of Lviv). In all 6 branches of the "Luh".

There were also dissolved the branch of the "Sokil" in the village of Bridky, in the district of Lviv.

Thus two issues of the official daily of the voyvodship of Lviv announced that within the months of December and January were dissolved by the voyvoda of Lviv 17 reading-rooms of the "Prosvita", 19 branches of the "Luh", and 12 branches of the "Sokil". This makes a total of 48 Ukrainian cultural and enlightenment



societies. Should the matters proceed in this matter further, then our villages will soon be left without any society whatsoever, and only the tavern will reign supreme.

Our public has to think more seriously over this liquidation and over all that it is bringing to our people.

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, February 27, 1931.)

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17.

*UKRAINIANS ENJOINED FROM PROPAGATING  
THE PRINCIPLE OF RACIAL SELF-DETERMINATION.*

Lemberg — Starostwo.

L. St. 2007.

Lemberg, October 7th, 1930.

*To the Founders of the Ukrainian Section*

*of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom,  
c/o Mrs. Blanka Baranowa,  
Tarnopol, ul. Strzala.*

In accordance with the decision of the Voyvoda of Lviv, dated September 1930, L. BP 317 (Stow.) 29, this certifies that the Ministry of the Interior has dismissed, on the grounds of paragraph 8 of the law on Societies of November 13, 1867, Dz. U. P. 134, the appeal of "the Ukrainian Section of the International Women's League of Peace and Freedom" in Lemberg against the decision of the Voyvoda of Lviv, dated October 23, 1926, No. B. P., by which it was forbidden to organize this Society, on the following grounds:

According to Sect. 4. of the By-Laws of this Society the aim of the Society should be the realizing of points mentioned in par. 1. of said By-Laws, among which there is a point dealing with the right of a nationality to self-determination.

The aim thus understood is a constant basis for making proposals to revise the frontiers of the State on account of some parts being inhabited by different nationalities and changes taking place in the numbers of these inhabitants. This is equivalent to having a constant aim to undermine the present Status of the Polish State and to threaten its integrity. It is therefore of danger to the State.

The appellants quoted the By-Laws of the legally constituted "Polish Women's League of Peace and Freedom" claiming them to be identical with their project, but this does not agree with the facts as the By-Laws of said Polish organization do not contain such a paragraph.

This decision of the administrative authorities is final, but does not exclude the possibility of appealing to the Highest Court of Administration.

*(Parallel to the wholesale dissolution of existing Ukrainian institutions there ran an equally wholesale obstruction to the organization of new ones. The above decree of the Polish administration refers to the organization which is known to every civilized nation of the world. The Polish government enjoins Ukrainian women from organizing a branch in Ukraine. The reason given is illuminating: the society, the Polish government says, would be dangerous to the wholeness of the Polish State: it might namely advocate the principle of self-determination of nationalities, — the same principle by which Poland has gained her freedom. If a Ukrainian advocates that principle, he, or she, is evidently subversive, disloyal and secessionist.)*

*This is further illustration of what is considered disloyal on the part of a Ukrainian in Poland.—Ed.)*

### XXXI.

#### THE UKRAINIANS APPEAL FOR PROTECTION OF THEIR PROPERTY AND PERSONS TO POLISH ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES.

##### 1.

#### HOW THE PROTECTION IS GIVEN TO THE CITIZENS OF THE POLISH RACE.

##### FROM THE DOCUMENTS OF THE TIME

The following document was sent in to us:

The supreme officer of the district of Rava Ruska. No. 123/tj. Rava Ruska, October 14, 1930. To the communal offices of all the villages except the following (28 localities are exempted.—Ed.). In further elaboration of my circular dated September 12, 1930, No. 1439/30, in which I ordered the appointment of night guards against sabotagists, permanent commandants of these guards should be appointed, one commandant and two assistants, in each commune). The commandants of these guards should be men absolutely certain, well knowing the arms, that is before all ex-soldiers, or those who have passed military preparedness courses, and their task will be to place the guards in proper places, to instruct them and to oversee them. The commandants of these guards should be remunerated by the commune, daily remuneration

to be equal to the double daily wages of an average farm laborer in the particular commune. In proportion as these guards will win a recognition the respective communal offices will receive the permission to possess arms, the use of which will be the right of the commandants of the guards. I remark that THE PEOPLE OF POLISH RACE OF THE COMMUNES IN QUESTION SHOULD NOT BEAR ANY LOSSES BECAUSE OF THE BURDEN PLACED UPON THE COMMUNE, the owners, or of the night guards should perform their duties both in the day-time and in the night-time, a special place should be provided for them as a guard post, which should be supplied with light and, in case of need, with fuel. This order should be carried out at once, and the commandants of the guards and their deputies are to be appointed by the commandants of the posts of the State Police. The supreme officer of the district, (signed) Skarzynski, m.p.

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, October 30, 1930.)

*The document is printed in Polish, the language of the original. The significant part of it was italicized by me.*

*The document is interesting for several reasons.*

*It shows the extraordinary measures of the Polish government for the alleged purpose of protecting the property against the so-called campaign of arson.*

*The method described above places the burden of that protection upon the Ukrainian people. The people are burdened with an extraordinary duty to stand guard at the stacks of hay and grain and the buildings of Polish landlords. The duty is irksome as it interferes greatly with their freedom of movement and activities. In short it is a conscription of villagers for guard duty for Polish lords.*

*The financial burden connected with the inspection of these guards is placed also upon the same villagers who already carry the conscript work. This is a costly burden if the ruin of the Ukrainian peasantry is taken into consideration.*

*To this is added an insult to the race. The Ukrainians alone are to carry the burden, the Poles are to be free from all the cost connected with the maintenance of such guards. That means that the Poles are not to be called from their households to serve as guards and that the Poles are not to be assessed by the local government to defray the expenses connected with the maintenance of such guards. The decree evidently starts from the standpoint that the Poles are a privileged race and the Ukrainians a subjugated race, a reasoning which stands in sharp contrast to the provisions of the Polish constitution. What atmosphere is created by such ordinances in those villages having a mixed population is self-evident. And how such discrimination against the Ukrainians works upon the gendarmes and all*

*other petty Polish officials, who are to be the overseers of these guards, enjoying special power and a double pay, needs no further elaboration. And again will this soothe the moral pain at being discriminated against, in the first place?*

*Finally, these extraordinary administrative preventative measures to protect the property of citizens, when they are manifestly of the Polish race contras twith the measures of the same government to protect the property of citizens, when they are manifestly of the Ukrainian race.—Ed.)*

## 2.

### UKRAINIAN LEADERS INTERVENE WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO STOP ATROCITIES

Warsaw, Oct. 4.—Unrest in East Galicia, characterized by sabotage and terrorism attributed to a secret Ukrainian Military Organization, still continues, although there is some evidence that the efforts of the Polish Government to appease the country by forceful persuasion might meet with success if some sort of cooperation against the terrorists could be agreed upon in the conversations between Ukrainian leaders and the Polish Government now being held in Warsaw.

Archbishop Sheptytsky, head of the Greek Catholic Church, returned to Lviv this morning with the impression that the government has resolved to go firmly with its campaign against the terrorists, who, Archbishop Sheptytsky admitted in an interview, are subsidized by foreign sources.

The president of the biggest Ukrainian party, the National Democrats, M. Levytsky, is continuing the negotiations begun by Archbishop Sheptytsky. The Ukrainian leaders have asked the government to desist in its reprisals and are ready to assume responsibility for their part of the country.

Meanwhile the news have been received from Lviv that the big warehouse of the Ukrainian Cooperative Society, the "Tsen-trosoyuz", was blown up yesterday. Several bombs exploded simultaneously in various departments, destroying the building completely. Twenty persons were injured.

Arrests all over the country continue. The Orthodox priest, Kunitsky, a former Deputy and confidant of Archbishop Sheptytsky, was arrested today.

(The New York Times, Sunday, October 5, 1930.)

*(The Very Rev. Kunitsky, evidently, cannot be an Orthodox priest if he is to be a confidant of the Catholic bishop. He is also an Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergyman.—Ed.)*



## 3.

METROPOLITAN SHEPTYTSKY CONFERS WITH MIN. BECK.

Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky had on Thursday a longer conference with Mr. Beck, the vice-premier of the Polish cabinet of ministers.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE "PROSVITA" INTERVENES WITH DIRECT. STAMIROWSKI.

Mr. Michael Halushchynsky, the president of the "Prosvita" and the ex-vice marshall of the Senate of the Polish sejm, conferred on Thursday, October 2, 1930, with the director of the political department of the Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Stamirowski.

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, October 5, 1930.)

## ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES

METROPOLITAN SHEPTYTSKY KNOCKS AT THE DOOR

Metropolitan Sheptytsky arrives at Warsaw and SEEKS AN INTERVIEW with the HELMSMAN OF OUR STATE VESSEL.

We do not know what Archbishop Sheptytsky intends to tell them. We do not know whether he has come with the purpose of INTERCEDING FOR THE CLOSED CENTERS OF FIRE-BRANDS, or perhaps to OFFER HIS SERVICES IN THE WORK OF PACIFICATION. In the first case, it would be difficult to call his behavior by any other name than CYNICISM, in the second case his action is BELATED and justly suspected as INSINCERE.

Eight years ago, Mr. Sheptytsky received PERMISSION TO ENTER POLAND, but on CERTAIN CONDITIONS. THOSE CONDITIONS, which consisted, before all, of absolute loyalty towards the nation, HE FAILED TO KEEP!

The Greek Catholic metropolitan has tolerated WILDEST VIOLENCE AND CRIMES OF HIS SPIRITUAL FOLLOWERS, carried out under the SLOGAN OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM. HE NEVER MOVED A FINGER TO STOP THOSE CRIMES or AT LEAST TO CONDEMN THEM. The Greek Catholic Consistory at Lviv, whose prominent representative is, for instance, that prelate Kunitsky, TOOK AN ACTIVE PART IN THE CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES, the fruits of which are arsons and murders. In the Church of St. George REBEL KNIVES WERE CONSECRATED AND REQUIEM MASSES WERE SUNG FOR CRIMINALS, and Metropolitan Sheptytsky — kept silent.

Should not the pulpits have started to speak long ago, at the metropolitan's order, and should they not have CONDEMNED LONG AGO THE CRIMES OF MURDER, ASSASSINATIONS AND ARSONS IN THE NAME OF CHRISTIANITY?

If then, he comes today to Warsaw and promises to publish an appeal, or pacifying pastoral letters, THE POLISH PUBLIC OPINION REPLIES TO IT: TOO LATE! Now that the center of REVOLT MOVEMENT HAS BEEN BROKEN BY THE SOLIDARY, UNIFORM ATTITUDE OF SOCIETY AND THE ENERGY OF THE GOVERNMENT, now that the glows of fires gradually die out, and the firebrands are awaiting their just punishment—NOW REV. SHEPTYTSKY WANTS TO "PACIFY"?

WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT THE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES AT WARSAW WILL DO and how they will react to the action of Rev. Sheptytsky.

As far, however, as the widespread opinion of Polish society is concerned, that opinion would DECLARE ITSELF ALTOGETHER AGAINST RECEIVING METROPOLITAN SHEPTYTSKY, who knocks at the door, believing that his dignified robes would cover his errors and his vices. And his vices are so serious that the (Polish) SOCIETY REFUSES TO FORGET THEM, the more so as they burden a PRIEST, who, after all, SHOULD BE DIRECTED BY CHRISTIAN LOVE TO HIS FELLOWMEN AND BY PEACEFUL, BROTHERLY CO-EXISTENCE OF RACES.

(ILLUSTROWANY KURYER CODZIENNY, the Polish daily, Cracow, October 3, 1930.)

#### 4.

### THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE METROPOLITAN

Warsaw (by telephone).—For the last two days, as we have already written, the Ukrainian metropolitan Sheptytsky has conducted conferences with the representatives of the Polish government at Warsaw. His interview with the minister Skladkowski, who had emphasized that the punitive expedition is merely a flower, the fruit of which was yet to come, reflects the position taken by the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. Sheptytsky came to plead for mercy for the Ukrainian bourgeois party, to win for it the guarantee of personal inviolability, of preservation of its cooperatives and of the incomes of the Ukrainian clergy. The fear of

the Ukrainian bourgeoisie of government reprisals and of the developed peasant movement is such that after this classical interview with Skladkowski, Sheptytsky went so far as to publish a loyal interview in the government paper "Ekspres Poranny".

"From the Ukrainian point of view"—declared Sheptytsky,— "a part of guilt for the situation in Western Ukraine falls upon the communists who have a direct interest in stirring the Ukrainian and the Polish races against each other."

Sheptytsky declared that even UNDO (the Ukrainian National Democratic Union) has nothing to do with UWO (the Ukrainian Military Organization).

In the spirit of Sheptytsky's declarations, the Ukrainian conciliatory parties, like UNDO, the radicals and the Ukrainian social democrats, issued a declaration in which they "protest against the reprisals"; and declare that the Ukrainian people cannot be made responsible for the activities of secret underground organization".

The leader of the new Ukrainian government, who came out of the ranks of UNDO, Mr. Halushchynsky, arrived in Warsaw and was received by the head of the political department of the ministry of the Interior, Col. Stamorowski. **THUS ALL THE ROADS OF THE UKRAINIAN BOURGEOISIE LEAD TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLICE.** (*Italics of the original.*)

("ISVESTIA", daily organ of the Union Central Executive Committee and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Moscow, Sunday, October 5, 1930.)

## 5.

### THE ALARMS OF THE PROTECTORS OF SABOTAGISTS.

WARSAW (by telephone).—Mr. Stamirowski, the director of the political department of the Ministry of the Interior, received yesterday Dr. Dmytro Levitsky, ex-deputy and the leader of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, in the matters connected with the situation in Eastern Little Poland. The conference lasted for one hour and a half.

"Wiek Nowy" (The New Age), Lviv, October 5, 1930.

*(No results were reported from the above conference. Nor could it be fruitful if the Polish press reported of this intercession of the Ukrainian leader under the above title, putting it together with the report of what the newspaper calls alarming publicity given to the Polish terror in Galicia. —Ed.)*

As is well known, Metropolitan Sheptytsky stayed for three days in Warsaw. Yesterday at noon the Metropolitan returned

by aeroplane to Lemberg, where he landed at the airport of Sknyliv, whence he went by automobile to the buildings at St. George's cathedral.

"Wiek Nowy" (The New Age), Lviv, October 5, 1930.

## 6.

### UKRAINIANS IN POLAND HELD WELL TREATED CONSUL MARYNOWSKI TAKES EXCEPTION TO NEWS ARTICLES: CITES LIBERAL POLICY

(Under such caption the "Buffalo Evening News," of October 29, 1930, published a letter by Tadeusz Marynowski, Buffalo consul of Poland, denying the charge that Ukrainians are cruelly treated by the Polish people. The passage quoted below cites Metropolitan Sheptytsky as a witness to the good treatment of the Ukrainians by the Poles.—Ed.)

As to the Greek Catholic Archbishop Szeptycki, whose pastoral letter was confiscated, it is interesting to state that he now published in the press an open letter in which he advises the forming of a new Ukrainian party named Catholic Ukrainian association, whose activities should be based upon the defense of Catholic and national traditions of loyalty towards Poland.

This is a proof that the head of the Greek Catholic church in Poland has no sympathy with the incendiaries and agitators paid for their terroristic activities from abroad.

In conclusion I wish to state that the unrest in Southeastern Poland is undoubtedly fomented in connection with the elections to the Sejm with the purpose to create difficulties for the government and to discredit Poland in the eyes of the civilized world.

## 7.

### AN INTERVIEW WITH THE RIGHT REV. METROPOLITAN ANDREW.

Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky was lately in Warsaw, where he had conferences with some prominent officials on the well known events in Eastern Galicia. In view of the fact that about these conferences there appeared in Polish newspapers various rumors and unconfirmed reports, we considered it our duty to seek an authentic version of the news at the very source.

The Metropolitan gladly received our representative and gave him the information sought for. The conversation was as follows:

"Did Your Excellency go to Warsaw exclusively in the matter of the current events in Eastern Galicia?"

"I went to Warsaw to take part in the session of the Legal Committee of the Bishops on the agrarian reform, which was fixed for that time. I



utilized this opportunity for conferences with official circles on the well known events in Eastern Galicia. I add, however, that if no such session had been held, I would have gone to Warsaw at any event in order to intervene in the matter of these events. I spoke with the Minister of the Interior, General Skladkowski, with the vice-premier of the cabinet of Ministers, Mr. Beck, and with the ex-premier Colonel Slawek."

"Could Your Excellency reconstruct the conversation with Minister Skladkowski and did the Polish press report the conversation correctly?"

"The report of my conversation with Minister Skladkowski as published by Polish press is not true. To reconstruct this conversation is difficult since I spoke on the same topics also with other persons. And even if it were possible to reconstruct the conversation in details, still I would not have done this for following reason: the semi-official newspapers of Warsaw remarked that the conferences of the ministers with me were official secrets, and for this reason I would consider it a breach of confidence to publish them in full detail.

"I will state only generally that the purpose of my conferences was to call the attention of the responsible factors to the fact that the so-called pacification in practice reduces itself to most glaring mass abuses and violations of law, by the police and army detachments, as regard the Ukrainian people and their cultural achievements in villages and towns. I emphasized that arsons cannot be blamed upon the masses of peaceful population, who have not and cannot have with them anything in common.

"I pointed out that about the middle of July the payments for the grain burnt amounted in the voyvodship of Warsaw to 200 per cent of the premiums while at the same time the compensations for the arsons of grain in the voyvodship of Lviv did not reach 100 per cent of their premiums. This is one proof more to show that in the arsons there was involved also speculation in insurance.\*

"In Eastern Galicia a considerable number of the arsons is to be attributed to communists, who are interested in grafting in that territory and deepening the so-called class hatred, for which purpose they utilize the racial antagonisms. The entire activity of the so-called pacificatory detachments of the police and army on the territory of Eastern Galicia brings in its results most benefit to communists.

"The (Polish) official attitude in the matter of arsons is that the responsibility for them should be borne by the Ukrainian people, among them also by the clergy, who have not proceeded resolutely against arsons and sabotages.

"This, as you see, is an attitude fully different from the one taken by me. In my conversations I emphasized that neither the Ukrainian people, in general, nor the Greek-Catholic clergy, in particular, could be made responsible for the commented-upon acts of unknown conspirators and numerous, as it seems, provocateurs.

"The Greek-Catholic clergy cannot be made responsible for this the more so as they always have been against arsons and sabotages, out of self-understood, thoroughly fundamental principles. The Greek-Catholic bishops could publish

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\* The voyvodship of Warsaw may be considered the center of the Polish ethnographic territory, the voyvodship of Lviv that of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory under Poland.—Ed.

no pastoral letter against arsons as such. a letter would be a confirmation of the accusation that the Ukrainian people are really responsible for the arsons, which is not true.

"When now the Ukrainian people are flogged and tortured in great numbers; when from the flogging and maltreatment are not exempted Greek-Catholic priests and secular intelligentsia; when reading-rooms, cooperatives, dairies, and private property are destroyed by expeditionary detachments;—then all this does not make impossible the acts of firebrands, who surely are not to be found among the innocent victims of the pacification.

"All the officials with whom I conferred, told me that the pacificatory detachment had for their purpose to make searches and to catch firebrands; if they committed any excesses, they were to be called to account for that. The government, I was told, had no intention to destroy the Ukrainians, to combat Ukrainian national culture and to undermine Ukrainian cultural achievements. They emphasized in their talks with me that their only purpose is to insure peace and order in Eastern Galicia."

"And what was Your Excellency's general impression from these talks?"

"The general impression was rather good since I was told that excesses would be stopped and it was emphasized that the expeditions are only a method of stopping arsons, and not a method to destroy the Ukrainians or to combat the Ukrainian culture or the cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people.

"Has Your Excellency seen Mr. Czerwinski, the Minister of Education?"

"No, I have not talked at all with the Minister of Education."

We took this opportunity to learn that the Metropolitan will start on Monday by an aeroplane for Warsaw to take part in an international congress for combating white-slavery, the Metropolitan being one of the honorary members of the presidium of the said congress.

("Dilo", Ukrainian daily, Lviv, Tuesday, October 7, 1930.)

## 8.

### *A SAMPLE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF DENOUNCIATION AGAINST THE METROPOLITAN FOR HIS INTERCESSION WITH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.*

#### (a)

THE ROLE OF THE METROPOLITAN SZEPTYCKI IN THE EVENTS IN LITTLE POLAND.

MINISTER SKLADKOWSKI ACCUSES GREEK CATHOLIC CLERGY OF INDIRECT PARTICIPATION IN CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES.

FOR TWO MONTHS THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAD WAITED.

SZEPTYCKI KNEW OF WHAT WAS GOING ON AND TOLERATED COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.

(Special correspondence to the Polish Morning World.)

New York, October 17.—In connection with the attack on Poland inspired by Metropolitan Szeptycki we call attention to

his declaration published in the Polish Morning World on October 4.

"The responsibility for the sabotages and incendiariam in Little Poland falls upon communists who are directly interested in the inflammation of the relations between the Polish and the Ruthenian people."

It will be pertinent to call attention also to the statement of Mr. Skladkowski, the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, in his interview with the Metropolitan.

"I must state that the Greek-Catholic clergy do not contribute to the pacification of the minds. The clergy could gauge the moral side of incendiariam, but they failed."

Eight years ago the Archbishop Szeptycki received the permission to return to Poland, but on certain conditions. But those conditions, which consisted primarily in the loyalty towards the Polish State,—the Metropolitan has not kept. The Greek Catholic consistory at Lviv whose representative is prelate Kunicki, lately arrested, took an active part in the criminal policy.

Metropolitan Szeptycki knew that Dr. Panienko had sent to all the representatives of European governments and to influential newspapermen a 'memorandum' on 'Polish atrocities'.

Metropolitan Szeptycki kept silent FOR TWO MONTHS which spread the glow of fires over Little Poland.

"Nowy Swiat" (Polish Morning World), New York, October 18, 1930, page 1.

(b)

While denouncing the lies of Mr. Elliott, we consider it proper to emphasize, in the strongest way, that his correspondence was sent to the Herald Tribune from Berlin.

It now becomes self-evident at once who in reality stands behind the curtain. The sabotage of the Ukrainian groups, the burning down of land estates, and so on, of which we have written, HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT IN EASTERN LITTLE POLAND FOR GERMAN MONEY. THIS WAS ADMITTED BY METROPOLITAN SZEPTYCKI AND WAS REPORTED BY THE UNITED PRESS, but Mr. Elliott has forgotten of this, of course. . . .

The treasonable intrigues of Berlin in Little Poland testify that here must follow from the Polish side a most energetic counteraction, to beat off efficiently 'peaceful' attacks akin to those of Elliott's in the Herald Tribune.

Lies must be nailed.

"Nowy Swiat" (Polish Morning World), New York, October 18, 1930, the leading editorial on the editorial page 4.

(Italics are of the "Nowy Swiat".—Ed.)

(c)

## SAD SIGNS OF THE TIMES

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST METROPOLITAN SHEPTYTSKY

The campaign of the Polish press against the person of Right Reverend Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, which had started in connection with his intervention with the central government in the matter of the well known events, not only has not stopped, but becomes more and more uncompromising and goes beyond all the limits of the most primitive decency. We leave aside the political sense of such a press campaign, which instead to quote the high authority of the present head of the Greek-Catholic Church in favor of some settlement of the present unusually tense atmosphere, does not hesitate to use ugliest methods to destroy that authority. . . . The only result of this campaign is further inflammation of the interracial relations of our country, a still deeper psychic and organic consolidation of the Ukrainian people. The first of these results such organs of the Polish press, as the Cracow "Kurjer" and the Lviv "Slowo Polskie" evidently wish to attain, the second result they do not surmise. The future will furnish the proofs. . . .

("Dilo", November 1, 1930.)

## 9.

## THE EPILOGUE

(a)

The Uniate Metropolitan Bishop of Lember, Count Sheptytsky, attempted to mediate between the Poles and the Ukrainians, going to Warsaw himself in the hope that he might be able to end the calamity that had come over the Ukraine. His efforts were in vain. On October 13 he issued a pastoral letter condemning acts of violence by the Poles. This letter was confiscated by the police on the 16th.

(The Manchester Guardian, October 22, 1930.)

*(The church leader has evidently decided to try this method in order to stop the atrocities of the "pacification", although there were strong arguments against such a pastoral letter in the Metropolitan's mind. The letter exposed the value of the Polish demands of such an act on the part of the Ukrainian church: the "punitive expeditions" continued, the letter was suppressed.—Ed.)*



(b)

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS ACCUSED OF AIDING  
TERRORISTS IN POLAND

WARSAW, Oct. 31.—Former Deputy Dimitri Lewicki, leader of the biggest and most influential Ukrainian party, the National Democrats' Union, was arrested at Lwow last night, and the party's secretary, M. Kosonocki, was seized by the police this morning in the Parliament building at Warsaw. Both are accused of having supported financially the terrorist movement in Eastern Galicia.

In the party's offices at Lwow the police said they found traces of a message sent to the chief of a secret Ukrainian organization, Colonel Jarra, in Berlin.

(The New York Times, Saturday, November 1, 1930.)

*(The above reports present a series of attempts by Ukrainian leaders to influence the Polish administration to discontinue its mass reprisals against the Ukrainian people. The course and the results of these interventions illustrate the Polish claims that the Polish government and public are inspired by conciliatory spirit towards the Ukrainians.)*

*The intervention here depicted was attempted by the Metropolitan Bishop of Lviv, Andrew Count Sheptytsky, of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and the headman of the biggest Ukrainian political party (the so-called UNDO.) an ex-deputy to the Polish sejm, Dr. Dmytro Levytsky. Thus we have an ecclesiastic and a secular leader attempting to move the government to stop the persecutions. Each of them is willing to take upon himself the responsibility for his act, and it is safe to assume that their obligations would have been respected by the bulk of the Ukrainians as if they had been undertaken by the people themselves.*

*It is noteworthy how the Metropolitan argued before the Polish Minister of the Interior against the pacification. The ecclesiastic leader never mentions the Polish constitution or the law, but emphasizes the practical legal purposelessness of the mass reprisals. He points out that four factors have been involved in the arsons which broke out in Poland in 1930: though some acts could be attributed to the Ukrainian revolutionary organization, others have to be ascribed to communists, still others to provocateurs, and still others to so-called insurance speculators. The ecclesiastic points out to the Minister of the Interior that there were greater damages done by fire in the purely Polish provinces of Warsaw than in the heart of the Ukrainian territory. Hence, the charge that all the Ukrainians are responsible for all the arsons committed on the Ukrainian territory under Poland have no foundation.*

*The Minister evidently answered that some excesses must have been committed by the officers carrying out the pacification, and assured the Metropolitan that those responsible would be called to account. Even that public modest promise was not followed by any acts on the part of the Minister: the public had no proofs that the excesses had been investigated or that any of the perpetrators had been punished. The Minister's virtuous declaration remained but an empty gesture.*

*The Polish government went on with its reprisals and mass attack upon the Ukrainian people. And the only real result of the intervention by the two leaders was: the arrest of Dr. Dmytro Levytsky and the campaign of slander instituted by the Polish press against the Metropolitan, so venomous in its tone, so reckless in its charges that this more than compensated the Polish government and public for their feeling of inability to treat the venerable ecclesiastic as they did a mere ex-deputy.*

*This press campaign is noteworthy for one reason. The Polish press not only charged the Metropolitan with disloyalty and treason but also tried to tie up their assertions with proofs. The reports and the comments of the New York Polish newspaper "Nowy Swiat" are remarkable in this respect because it reprinted on the pages of one issue simply every charge that had ever been hurled by Polish papers in Poland. With a remarkable nonchalance the paper made the Metropolitan something of a revolutionary, and then made the revolutionists into communists, on the front page, and into German paid agents, on its editorial page. Though the charge of communism directed against a Catholic bishop and a count by birth is too ridiculous to be entertained even for a moment, still a communist comment on the Bishop's intervention is given here to point out the direction of communist interests.*

*As to the charge of disloyalty to Poland, the reader may judge for himself if the Bishop's words as quoted by the "Dilo" sound like words of a disloyal person.*

*And as to the Bishop's acts which are supposed by the Polish press to prove his disloyalty, of them three facts are adduced by the "Nowy Swiat" to prove the Bishop's disloyalty, namely: the charge made by the Polish minister to the effect that the Ukrainian clergy failed to gauge the moral side of incendiarism; the arrest of Prelate Kunytsky by the Polish government on the charge of active participation in criminal policy; and by the Metropolitan's alleged knowledge of the fact that Dr. Panienko (thus the "Nowy Swiat" calls Dr. Paneyko) sent to European governments a memorandum on Polish atrocities.*

*The first fact should be supplemented by the fact that the Polish government suppressed later the pastoral letter of the Ukrainian bishops, in which they did not fail to "gauge the moral value of incendiarism." As to the Prelate, how could this prove the Bishop's disloyalty to Poland,*

*when the arrest does not prove even the Prelate's disloyalty to Poland, in the opinion of any unbiased person, since the Prelate had not been tried yet and had not been found guilty of the charges for which he was accused.\* And finally, in what does Dr. Paneyko's memorandum prove the Metropolitan's disloyalty to Poland or even the Metropolitan's knowledge of such memorandum, if it were admitted, and not merely alleged?*

*On such evidence rests the charge of disloyalty and treasonable activities brought against the Metropolitan by the Polish press, and that is why this specification of the charges is welcome. It throws a great deal of light not only upon the easiness with which the Polish press operates its mud-slings, but also upon the value of the charges of disloyalty broadcast by those foreign correspondents who give lengthy wordy elaborations of the charge, but neglect to specify the counts upon which they base it.*

*The reader may now sum up the practical results of the intervention of the Ukrainian leaders with the Polish government. The Polish government stands adamant on its original standpoint of making the entire Ukrainian race and all its institutions answerable for the acts of incendiarism on the Ukrainian territory. What the Ukrainian churchmen and political leaders consider as an unjust charge is stressed still more by the Polish officials. When the leader of the church, the most conservative of all the institutions, tries to intervene, the church and her leaders are heaped with charges of disloyalty, criminality, and treason. Every effort of the church leaders to comply honestly with the demands of the government is suspected as disloyal. The entire Polish press howls down the very attempts at intervention as treason.*

*What effect can such events have upon the Ukrainian people? What are the conclusions that the Ukrainian people have of necessity to draw from such facts? What activity could now in their opinion satisfy the Polish government, press and public? What is the purpose of the Polish policy?*

*And even if such impression may be subject to some qualifications and doubts is it a sound administrative policy on the part of the Polish government even to suggest such conclusions?—Ed.)*

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\* The Prelate has not been tried even to this moment (the middle of the month of March, 1931.)—Ed.

## XXXII.

## "REVANCHE"

While Polish police and soldiers invaded Ukrainian villages under the pretext of subduing the epidemic of incendiarism, which was alleged to have been inaugurated by the Ukrainian Military Organization with the knowledge, connivance and assistance of the entire Ukrainian race, or at least of that section of it organized into cultural, political, economic, and sporting institutions, the Polish public did not remain quiet but started a parallel campaign of reprisals, which were justified by the Polish press as "revanche" (for the Ukrainian sabotage).

## 1.

## HARBINGERS OF THE NEW HORROR

The Polish press hushed up the reports of these "revanche", displaying only the most glaring of them which furnished first-class news. The Ukrainian press was willing to report but its hands were tied up by the Polish censor, who suppressed not only everything that smacked of criticism of the government, but even criticism of the Polish public, nay even the criticism of the Polish press. Besides, the Ukrainian newspapers were undoubtedly overwhelmed by the immensity of the tragedy of "pacification", which seemed to them like a direct attempt at killing the race physically. Horrible as the acts of "revanche" were, they were pale in comparison with the horrors of the "pacification".

And yet they represent an important aspect of the Polish relations towards the Ukrainians. For this reason they are given a cursory chapter.

## (a)

## THE UKRAINIAN PROPERTY IS AFIRE!

They write us from the city of Zolochiv:

On September 2, at night, the barn of Rev. Stephen Yuryk, the parson of Zolochiv, was set on fire. The barn contained the crop of the season and agricultural implements. The damage is considerable.

The very same night the Ukrainian students' dormitories were set on fire. The fire was noticed in time and put out. On August 31, there was held in the city of Zolochiv a Polish meeting in the hall of the (Polish) "Sokol", to which meeting the people were invited by means of circulars. Although the circulars undoubtedly collide with the Criminal Code, Polish students passed them on to passersby without any protests on the part of the authorities.



In the evening, as soon as the meeting was adjourned a fire was set to the building of the Ukrainian "gymnasium" (college) in Zolochiv. With the help of the neighbors the fire was put out in time. In the morning, which is on September 1, the mayor of the city, Dr. Kazimierz Moszynski ran into the building of the school, caught Mr. Ivan Balushka, the school janitor, by the chest, struck his head against the wall, then boxed his ears, yelling all the time, "Bandits! Again setting fires!" The janitor was soon arrested.

On August 28, at night, the stable of Rev. Hryhory Kachala, the parson of the village of Lisnyky, district of Berezhan, was set on fire. The stable contained cattle and farming implements. The damage amounted to 2,700 zlotys.

On August 30, a fire broke out in the household of Peter Brykovych at the city of Tarnopol. The damage amounts to 880 zlotys. The fire which destroyed two stacks of grain threatened the entire region in view of the nearness of the straw-thatched houses to each other. The fire was the work of some firebrands as a kerosene can was found near it.

"Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, September 6, 1930.

(b)

#### *THE VOICE OF THE POLISH RESERVE OFFICERS.*

Last Sunday, September 21, 1930, an extraordinary district convention of the delegates of the branches of the Union of Polish Army Reserve Officers was held in Lviv. It was attended by the delegates of all those branches in the (three) south-eastern voyvodships and in Volhynia. The convention, after an address by Major Krynicki and a long debate, passed the following resolutions:

1) The Convention demands from the Governmental Authorities to use all the possible methods to liquidate as soon as possible the sabotages, and before all to introduce military courts and to dissolve all the so-called Ukrainian organizations, which, under the pretext of alleged cultural, social, sporting or economic work, support materially the agitators of sabotage and bring up new cadres for criminal activities.

2) In view of the fact that the main executive role in sabotages is performed by the teachers and pupils of the Ukrainian schools and educational institutes, the Convention demands from the Curator of the School District of Lviv to close all those schools

which were frequented by saboteurs, as well as to extend a special vigilance over the so-called Ukrainian schools.

3) The Convention appeals to the Polish public to consolidate all the national, social and economic forces, to strengthen their vigilance and close, willing cooperation with the Governmental Authorities for the purpose of destroying the activities of banditry.

4) The Convention places upon all the army reserve officers of the southeastern provinces the duty of standing in the closest contact with all the friendly combative organizations as well as heading, together with the "Strzelec" and the "Sokol," the social campaign for the purpose of stopping and liquidating the criminal "Ukrainian" activities.

5) The Convention declares that the Union of the Army Officers in Reserve stand to disposal of the Authorities, whom it trusts fully that they would liquidate completely anti-State sabotage.

(*"Dilo,"* September 24, 1930).

*(The resolutions were taken from Polish papers, where they appeared uncensored.)*

*The Ukrainian newspapers reported the above resolutions not only as news, but also as warning. They knew from experience that such resolutions are an excuse for the government to show action. The Ukrainians, in fact, usually suspect that the government itself provokes such demands to its own address: otherwise the censor could easily suppress the news as being of inflammatory character.*

*The convention here is that of the branches situated in the Ukrainian provinces, with a preponderating Ukrainian majority. Though it is a civic organization, its influence upon the government is great; it is in a way a ramification of the organization of the ex-service men, upon whom the Polish dictatorship depends for its main support.*

*The resolutions call for the destruction of all UKRAINIAN societies. What is Ukrainian is in the minds of Polish army reserve officers dangerous to the Polish State.*

*The resolutions often take the word "Ukrainian" in quotation marks, as if to indicate that the army officers do not recognize the existence of such a race.*

*The connection between the government, the reserve officers of the Polish army, and the "combative" organizations, like the notorious "Strzelec," is manifest.*

*The reader may compare this statement with the statement of the London Times correspondent.—Ed.)*

## 2.

*THE "REVANCHE" BEGINS.*

## (a)

## A BOMB EXPLODES IN THE UKRAINIAN SCHOOL OF PRINCE LEO, KRUPARSKA STREET, LVIV, DEMOLISHING THE INTERIOR OF THE BUILDING

On Saturday, about 1 o'clock at night, the inhabitants of Lychakiv suburb (of the city of Lviv) heard a loud explosion. It became known later that it was the explosion of a bomb in the Ukrainian elementary school of Prince Leo, on Kruparska street.\* As a result of the explosion the entire inside of the building was demolished, the roof was considerably damaged and one of the walls cracked. In the neighboring houses the windows were smashed by the explosion.

On the second floor of the building lived the school janitor Rudy with his wife and four children. The entire family came out of the explosion unharmed, with the exception of one child who was wounded by splinters of wood.

After the explosion another unexploded bomb was found at a distance from the school building. The bomb was taken by the police.

The Polish press gave wide reports of the explosion, noting as if in accordance with the results of the preliminary examination, that the bomb had exploded in a closed shelf which stood in one of the rooms of the school. In this connection Polish newspapers remark that the Ukrainians met often in the school, and that on the very evening preceding the explosion there was held there some kind of a conference. In this manner they intimate that the Ukrainians themselves planted the bomb in their own school. The "Gazeta Poranna" knows even what was the purpose of such an action. To wit: the school building was too old and the (Ukrainian) public was to be moved to contribute for a new building. A fine stimulus, no doubt. But there is one hitch to it: if the bomb in the shelf was an Ukrainian bomb, what about the

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\* Leo, Ukrainian prince, ruled Galicia, 1264-1301, from the city of Lviv (which means "Leo's city"),—a fact which forever reminds the Poles of the Ukrainian origin of the city and the Ukrainian character of the country.—Ed.

second bomb which was found in the street? Who planted that bomb?

In connection with the explosion the police arrested Antony Savchuk, 25, painter's apprentice, and his brother.

"Nowy Czas", Lviv, September 24, 1930.

(b)

Lviv, September 22, 1930.

#### "PACIFICATION" AND "REVANCHE"

. . . We will not speak of the instigators of the acts of "Revanche" about the creators of the atmosphere, built up by a systematic campaign of newspapers of the order of "Kurjer", by means of appeals, posters, circulars of various anonymous committees, meetings, and conferences of various corporations, and so on and so on. We have in mind only concrete facts, accomplished acts: the burning of the household of Rev. Lysyk in the village of Demyaniv, district of Rohatyn; the burning of the household of Rev. Kachala in Lisnyky, district of Berezhany; of Rev. Dr. Yuryk, of Zolochiv; of the farmer Peter Brykovych, of Tarnopol; of Rev. Hordynsky of Chernytsya, district of Horodenka; and of that of Rev. Matselyuch, in Kudobyntsi, district of Zboriv; the placing of a bomb into the home-office of the District Union of Cooperatives at Sokal; the burning of the reading-room of "Prosvita" and of the cooperative in Mykulychyn; the blowing up of the reading-room of the "Prosvita" in Manayiv, district of Zboriv; and the shooting of the farmer Vasyl Proshchanetsky; the blowing up of the reading-room of "Prosvita" in Danylivtsi, district of Zboriv; the repeated breaking of windows and signs of the stores of the "Maslosoyuz", situated on Sapieha, Lychakivska, and Kosciuszko streets, in Lviv; the breaking of the windows in the Ukrainian hotel "Narodna Hostynnytsya" in Lviv; the cutting with a knife the janitor of the hotel; the breaking of the windows of the chapel in Zamarstyniv; the demolishing of the Ukrainian orphan asylum, school and cooperative in Levandivka; the attempted blowing up of the gate of the stadium of "Sokil-Batko" and the burning of the house of Fathers Studites in Znesinnya; the attempted burning down of the Ukrainian "gymnasium" (college) and students' dormitories in Zolochiv,—and finally the last act of Polish "revanche"—the blowing up of the school of Prince Leo, the property of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) in Lviv.

The cynicism of the Cracow "Kurjer" goes so far that it writes that the Ukrainian cooperatives burn their property with their



own hands, in order to obliterate the traces of abuses ("Illustrowany Kurper Codzienny", September 22, 1930). The cynicism of the "Slowo Polskie" goes even further: it thinks that any attempt against the school of Leo from the Polish side is out of the question since "if the Poles would care to pay the Ukrainians tit for tat, they could select another, far more valuable object than an old shack. . . ." It is evident that other Polish newspapers also are inclined to admit that it is either the Ukrainians themselves who set off the bombs under their own institutions, or at least that they cause the explosions by a careless handling of bombs preserved in reading-rooms, cooperatives and schools for the purpose of anti-Polish sabotage. The "Chwila" is the only paper to remark while reporting the explosion in the school of Leo, that "it is not out of the question that somebody had planted the bomb."\* We will not quote the absurd reasoning about the way in which the explosion of one petard stored in a shelf blew out another petard as far as the sidewalk before the building, where it fell peacefully and failed to explode, and so on.

The entire Polish press keeps calling on the Polish people to persecute Ukrainian institutions, to close Ukrainian schools, to start a campaign of reprisals against Ukrainian sabotagists. There is not a word about the need of combating the campaign of "revanche". The voyvoda of Lviv, when taking over his office, declared that he was a decided opponent of "revanche" and will combat it. We would like to see something practical result from this declaration. We think that if the authorities carry out a campaign against the alleged Ukrainian arsons by means of one thousand police and soldiers (expeditions into the districts of Lviv, Bibrka, Pidhaytsi, Berezhany, Rohatyn, and Ternopil), then no less wide measures should be used for the struggle against the activities of the Polish "revanche". If simultaneously with the mass arrests of Ukrainians the "revanche" posters of the "committee for the defense of the Eastern borderlands", appear on the walls of the cities and Polish newspapers print inflammatory appeals by various military, student and anonymous Polish organizations, supported by editorials, and Ukrainian reading-rooms and school are burnt or blown up, then any pacification of the land is out of the question.

We oppose ruin and anarchy, which must be exceedingly harmful to our people, especially at this moment. But that is just the reason why we must point out to purposelessness of these methods of pacification, which go along the line of least resistance and

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\*"Chwila" (*The Moment*) is a Jewish organ in Polish.—Ed.

does not reach to the very root of the evil:—which is the prevalent atmosphere that gives birth to regrettable acts from the opposing sides.

“Dilo”, September 24, 1930.

(c)

#### SELF-DEFENSE REACTION OF THE PUBLIC TO REBUILD THE DEMOLISHED LVIV SCHOOL.

About the end of the month of September there was destroyed in Lviv by an explosion of a bomb the building of the 5-grades school of the “Ridna Shkola” of Prince Leo in the suburb of Lychakiv, at which explosion the entire outfit of the school, all the school implements and school stores were also destroyed. The “State Institute of Insurance” refused to pay the insured amount.

WE HAVE THEREFORE TO BUILD A NEW BUILDING  
WITH OUR OWN HANDS!

Without waiting for further appeals, the following citizens have contributed willingly their contributions for the purpose of erecting a new building of the “Ridna Shkola” of Prince Leo in Lviv:

1. Artist Prof. Julian Butsmanyuk contributed his oil painting “Revenge” and calls on the artists Alexander Novakovsky and Ivan Trush, both in Lviv (to make a proportionate contribution—Ed.);

2. Artist Dr. Ivan Ivanets contributed his picture “Hutsulka from Kosmatch” and calls on artist Michael Moroz and councillor Ossip Holinaty, of Lviv, and Dr. Myron Nyzhankivsky, of Kelce;

3. Dr. Michael Rudnytsky contributed 54 books and calls M. Malysky, landlord of Shlakhtyntsi, Dr. Stephen Barshchynsky, of Zolochiv, and Ivan Dubytsky, of Stanislaviv;

4. Antony and Mary Krushelnytsky contributed 100 zlotys;

5. Leo Yasinchuk contributed 20 zlotys and calls Dr. Vlodimir Revyuk, Dr. Yaroslav Oleksyshyn and Peter Petryk, all of Lviv;

6. Ivan Harasymovych contributed 20 zlotys and calls Dr. Ivan Rakovsky, Dr. Sophie Parfanovych and Vasil Mykytchuk, of Lviv;

7. Michael Klymkevych contributed 20 zlotys and calls Rev. Dr. Michael Trokhymchuk, of Peremyshl, Dr. Marian Krechkovsky, of Zoloty Potik, and Dr. Semen Shevchuk, of Lviv;

8. Peter Kovtun contributed 20 zlotys;

9. Irene Terepa contributed 20 zlotys;

10. Daniel Vakhnyanyn contributed 10 zlotys and calls Rev. Dr. Auksent Boychuk, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary,

in Stanislaviv, Justice Dr. Michael Shkilnyk, of Peremyshl, and lawyer Dr. Stephen Bilak, of Horodok;

11. Eng. Ivan Luchyshyn, 10 zlotys, calls Eng. Yaroslav Koltunuk, Severyn Pasternak and Ivan Rybaruk, of Lviv;

12. Eustache Muryn, 10 zlotys, calls Vladimir Klyvak, Stephen Lototsky and Michael Vaskiv, of Lviv;

13. a collection at the church of St. Peter and Paul brought 16 zlotys;

14. Ivanitsky 10 zlotys; 15, the workers of the "Ridna Khata" 9, 20 zlotys; 16, Mariashova 5; 17, Nicholas Levytsky 5; 18, Vlad. Kohut 5; 19, G. Vld. 5; 20, Osip Olkhovy 5; 21, Theodore Kryvutsky 5; 22, Konstantine Kovaliv 5; 23, Julian Eluk 2.—Ivan Oleksyn contributed 5 American dollars.—All the contributions were deposited on the safe deposit book No. 15,150 of the cooper. "Dnister" in the name of the fund of the School of Prince Leo in Lviv.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 11, 1930.

*(Each of the Polish acts of "revanche" falls as a new burden upon the Ukrainian people.*

*The above report gives the reader an idea in what manner Ukrainian schools are supported. This is one of the many ways, and a most common one. It usually brings results as friends called on to contribute rarely refuse. It gives the public an opportunity to trace down their contributions. It furnishes, however, the Polish government with the names of the supporters of Ukrainian institutions and exposes the contributors to various chicaneries and persecutions (driving from governmental or even private positions; transferring them to Western, truly Polish districts, and the like). For this reason it is a good illustration for the already quoted words of Mr. Hoy Lee Ellis, which American Poles succeeded in placing in several American papers, and in which he said that the Ukrainians have no idealistic intelligentsia, and "all the provocateurs of the Ukrainian movement" work for their material gains, for Moscow rubles and Berlin marks.*

*The rate of exchange at the time when these contributions were made was about 11.20 American cents to a Polish zloty. The real value in goods in Poland of an American dollar is several times that of an American dollar in America.—Ed.)*

### 3.

#### (a)

BLOWING UP OF THE CENTRAL WAREHOUSE OF UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVES AT LVIV. EXPLOSION OF INFERNAL MACHINE IN LVIV. A COMMITTEE HEADED BY THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY PERFORMS A SEARCH. IT

IS CONFIRMED THAT THE EXPLOSION WAS CAUSED BY MATERIAL STORED IN THE BUILDING.

(d) From the very earliest morning of yesterday, great crowds of curious people gathered to view the building of the "Tsentsosoyuz", at 20 Zimorovich street, where an infernal machine had exploded.

At the command of Mr. Gonczakowski, the director of street cleaning department of the city, many functionaries of that department started to clean up the gutter and the sidewalks of broken glass, thus making possible the passage through Zimorovich and Staszyc streets.

Later, at the place of explosion a committee assembled for the purpose of examination. The examination was attended by: public prosecutor Bizub; investigation judge Tunikowski; the commandant of the voyvodship police, inspector Grabowski; the commander of the local police, higher police commissioner Sedzimir; representative of the examining office commissary Feduniszyn; the director of the political brigade, commissary Bilewicz; commissary Czechowski; captain Kirchner with a detachment of sappers; lieutenant Duczynski of the department of arms; higher masters of pyrotechnics Jena and Patkowski; the chief of the safety department in the local garrison, major Magieras. The "Tsentsosoyuz" was represented by director Shukhevych, the "Silsky Hospodar" by director Tvorydlo, and their lawyer Dr. Szukhevych.

The committee closely examined the grounds. They found no remnants of the infernal machine, or fuse or any remnants of other explosives. They ascertained instead that the explosive had been placed inside of the building, and that the explosion was probably caused by detonation of a greater amount of blasting explosives since the power of the explosion was unusually violent. The authorities ascertained that throwing of the charge of the explosive through the barred windows of the building was out of the question and would be very dangerous for the perpetrator, from which a conclusion must be made that some infernal machine must have been placed in the warehouse. Finally the committee ascertained that the walls of the neighboring buildings, situated on Staszic and Zimorowicz streets, were considerably damaged; the question whether they do not threaten with fall will be passed upon by a special building commission.

After the examination had been made and the damages ascertained, the management of the "Tsentsosoyuz" started the work to bring the demolished building to the previous condition.

("Wiek Nowy", Polish daily, No. 8789, Lviv, October 5, 1930.)



*(This report is typical for the Polish press. It manipulates the findings of the inquest, which are hardly more than a flimsy texture of conjectures, in such a manner as to make it appear that the explosions was caused by the Ukrainians themselves. What the motive the Ukrainians could have in such a planting of a bomb into their own institution, the Polish paper does not bother to enter into. The long list of officials is given to suggest that this was the officially acknowledged finding.*

*Nothing more than this inquest was done by the government towards the discovery of the perpetrators or bringing them to justice. Not even the senseless theory about the Ukrainians blowing up themselves was worked out.*

*The final paragraph of the report is significant.*

*The damages were ascertained officially,—an official act, under the Austrian law, preceding usually a suit for damages. Here it was done by the government willingly, while in the cases of "pacification" the victims were denied it when they asked for it.*

*The readiness of the directors of the "Tsentrosoyuz" to rebuild and to carry on the business characterizes the managers and the organization. What motive could they have in storing highly combustible explosives into their warehouses?—Ed.)*

(b)

#### AROUND THE EXPLOSION IN THE "TSENTROSOYUZ"

The explosion of the bomb on the groundfloor of the building on Zimorowicz street, in which the warehouse of the "Tsentrosoyuz" was located, has caused a great damage. Four rooms on the groundfloor have been demolished together with the goods, on the second floor a big hall which was occupied by the cooperative "Silsky Hospodar" (Village Farmer) and the room in which lived the clerk of the "Silsky Hospodar" Danylovsky. It has to be considered a true God's miracle that the said Danylovsky, his wife and children escaped from the explosion unharmed. On the third floor there was no damage. . . .

Mrs. Danylovsky, the clerk's wife, who suffered most since she came out with a nervous shock, told us that she had heard at first a crash of broken window panes, and only then followed a terrible explosion, which in the first moment made her lose her consciousness completely. . . .

It will be pertinent to mention in this connection that in the building which now has suffered as the result of the explosion, not less than three times window panes had been broken, and each time the perpetrators escaped discovery.

The Polish chauvinistic press, before investigation warrants it, directly and indirectly ascribes the placing of the bomb under the Ukrainian cooperative central building to nobody but to the Ukrainians themselves.

This press strangely forgets all the appeals and calls of "self-defense" and "revanche", which the organs of that press have been publishing on their own pages. They do not seem to suspect that anybody from the Polish side could have acted upon their advices and appeals.

It seems as if the burning down of the Boy-Scouts' camp on the Sokol, the bombing of the Ukrainian school in Lychakiv, a suburb of Lviv, of the Reading-Room of "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) at Zboiska, as well as all the other burning and demolition of Ukrainian property, private and public, and finally the last act of bombing the building of the "Tsentosoyuz" were not the result of Polish "revanche" planned for a long time by the Polish chauvinistic press and the Polish National-Democratic organizations of "self-defense", but exclusively the work of Ukrainian hands.

There are both in the city of Lviv and in the provinces many Ukrainian institutions which rob Polish chauvinists of their peaceful sleep. They still will have plenty of opportunity to show their prowess in setting explosions. . . .

But even the Ukrainians have in Poland the right granted by the Polish constitution to demand from the authorities protection and safety for Ukrainian institutions against the attempts of various pogrom organizations.

Lest in the future a legend again should arise about the Ukrainians planting bombs into their own institutions, the authorities may be called to attest at any moment if any of the Ukrainian institutions stores explosives.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 7, 1930.

*(The rich crop of wildest rumors and conjectures manufactured by the Polish press is significant for the atmosphere in which the Polish-Ukrainian relations develop. The air was charged with dark vapors when the first official inquest stopped short of any really well-founded results. It gave nothing but half-uttered conjectures, which were picked up by the press, whose healthy curiosity for facts was distorted by the conditions of censorship into an unwholesome craving for lurid sensations.*

*In such an atmosphere, the wilder the rumor the more it seems to find credulity. With a sensible public no such rumors as those published by the Polish press of the self-destructive mania of Ukrainian institutions or leaders could be entertained for a moment. The Polish daily "Wiek Nowy", which published the above quoted report of the explosion in the "Tsentro-*

*soyuz'*, added that the management of the organization started the work of reconstruction immediately after the official inquest was over,—a fact which in itself attests to the indomitable spirit and gameness of the Ukrainian institutions rather than to any despair or mania of self-destruction.

*What makes the Poles accept such fantastic theories? What makes them accept the very idea that the Ukrainians are about to commit racial suicide? Such questions suggest themselves to one reading these lurid theorizings.*

*Ukrainian newspapermen know that a decent government official would consider it his first duty to condemn similar conjectures and wild rumors, especially when disseminated by newspapers, and they desperately grope for some methods to compell the Polish government to do the decent thing.*  
—Ed.)

(c)

#### INTERVENTION WITH THE SUPREME OFFICER OF LVIV

A delegation composed of director M. Zayachkivsky, Canon Rev. D. Lopatynsky, dir. O. Lutsky and dir. J. Pavlykovsky, representing a number of Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions, in which those men occupy various leading positions, appeared, on Saturday, October 4, at the offices of Mr. Gallass, the supreme officer of the city of Lviv, with the purpose of intervention. The leaders named above called the attention of the supreme officer of the city district to the strange phenomena that bombs are exploded in Ukrainian institutions destroying furnishings and property while the Polish newspapers inform the public after such incidents that the bombs had been stored or placed by the Ukrainians themselves. For this reason the delegation requested the supreme officer of the city district to carry out in the home-offices of these institutions a police search for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not any explosives are kept there and for the purpose of giving the institutions police protection.

The supreme officer of the city district admitted that it is really hard to believe the report that the institutions had decided to destroy themselves, but, he said, the proposed search would not solve the problem the more so as after it some one may place some explosive even in spite of the strictest search by the directors of the institution. The supreme officer of the city district pointed out that the police are overburdened and that they lack forces to be placed for the protection of the institutions. At the same time Mr. Gallass declared that he was personally opposed to all so-called "revanches". As to the comments of the Polish press, the supreme officer of the city district said, he has no power to influence its tone and opinions.

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, October 7, 1930.)

*(The request of the Ukrainian institutions seeks to furnish them with some protection against the acts of Polish "revanche". The Polish constitution proclaims the protection of the life and property of Polish citizens as one of the prime purposes of the Polish government. The Polish government has never hesitated to use various extraordinary measures under the pretext of protecting the life and property of the Polish people. Polish administrative officials have imposed upon the Ukrainian people the burden of maintaining guards day and night for the alleged purpose of protecting the property of the Poles supposedly threatened by incendiaryism. Then mass reprisals on the Ukrainians were inaugurated by the Polish government under the pretext of protecting the life and property of Polish citizens.*

*Now various attacks of Polish pogrom organizations and mobs against Ukrainian institutions in Lviv and other cities of Galicia were also attacks upon the life and property of Polish citizens. To be sure, they were attacks against the people of the Ukrainian race, but the Polish constitution explicitly states that the protection of the Polish law is due to every citizen of Poland irrespective of his race, language or religion.*

*With this basic understanding the Ukrainian institutions of Lviv appear before the supreme administrative officer of the district to demand protection of their property. The occasion is the explosion of a bomb placed into the Ukrainian cooperative institution, the "Tsentrosoyuz",—a notorious incident of grave importance.*

*What is the answer of the supreme officer of the district? He cannot furnish them with police protection because the police are overburdened with work. Probably, they are out of the city "protecting" the property of the Poles, by "pacifying" the Ukrainians.*

*Could he perhaps do something to calm the stirred rabble passions of the Polish people in the city of Lviv? Could he for instance give the "revanchists" to understand that they would be punished by the authorities for wrecking Ukrainian institutions? Could he at least deny the allegations according to which the Ukrainians themselves plant bombs into their own institutions and explode them,—an allegation which is equivalent to an assurance that similar acts of Polish pogrom organizations would go not only unpunished but would be charged to the Ukrainians, that is to the victims of these attacks? Could he at least do a good turn to the Ukrainian institutions at the special price of the annoyance of being searched for arms? Could the authorities assure themselves and the public by such searches that no bombs are stored in Ukrainian institutions?*

*The representative of the Polish government refuses. The searching of the institutions would not do: soon after a search somebody might throw a bomb from outside.*

*But he surely does not suspect for a moment that the Ukrainians could have placed those bombs that destroyed their own institutions? No, that*



he cannot believe as nobody would like to destroy himself. But this is exactly the current charge, of the Polish press, the delegation pointed out. Couldn't he do something about it? They do not seem to give him any suggestions: if it were a question of the Ukrainian press, the official would know how to influence it. But now he said he could not influence them.

Thus the result of the intervention was nil unless one could count among the results the public advertisement of the fact that the Polish authorities would not protect Ukrainian institutions against the attacks of hooligans; that the Polish police would be busy somewhere else; and that such attacks would be charged to the Ukrainians themselves victimized by such pogroms.

That might seem to be so bad that nothing worse could be imagined. And yet Mr. Gallass, the supreme officer of the city district, succeeded in making it still worse. The "Dilo", of October 9, 1930, brings a correction of the above quoted report, a correction sent in by Mr. Gallass himself, to be published according to the press statute. In this correction Mr. Gallas says:

"It is not true that the supreme officer of the city district declared to the delegation of the Ukrainian institutions that 'as to the comments of the Polish press, he has no power to influence their tone and opinions'. It is true, however, that the supreme officer of the city district declared to the delegation that he has no title to influence the Polish press in its tone and comments on the attempts which continue since the Polish press bases its opinions and charges on the real results of the past inquiries and examinations."

Since the editor of the Ukrainian paper could not give its view,—if it was contrary to the officer's statement, without exposing his paper to another suppression, it is impossible to inquire further what really happened at the conference on that subject. Leaving the doubtful moments aside, it seems that the report of the "Dilo" in other respects is true. True is the report that the Ukrainians have made such demands, and that the official refused to give Police protection to Ukrainian buildings. He does not correct the statement that he had held the bombing of the Ukrainian institutions by the Ukrainians themselves highly improbable, but he commends the Polish press, who were the authors of wildest rumors, for basing their reports upon a true understanding of the results of official inquiries.

What influence for law and order in Poland such a declaration must have is evident.—Ed.)

## 4.

## (a)

INAUGURATION OF A NEW YEAR AT THE UNIVERSITY  
OF LVIVMEMBERS OF POLISH STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS SMASH  
WINDOWS IN UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS

On Tuesday, October 14, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, a group of Polish students of higher schools (the so-called corporants) started immediately after the inauguration ceremonies at the university a campaign of smashing the windows of all the stores situated in the building of the "Prosvita", including the store of the "Maslosoyuz" (the Ukrainian dairy cooperative—Ed.) and of the bookstore of the (Ukrainian) Scientific Society of Shevchenko; then in all the stores situated in the building of the "Dnister" (the Ukrainian fire insurance association—Ed.), including the store of the "Bazar" and "Dostava" (dealing in church goods,—Ed.); finally they broke the windows in the building of the "Scientific Society of Shevchenko", 24-26 Czarnecki Street (in the library and museum).

At the moment when this goes to press we were not able yet to collect the reports of the damages done by Polish students to the various Ukrainian institutions. In the building of the "Scientific Society of Shevchenko" alone they broke as many as fifty windows, the stones flying to the third floor.

("Dilo", Lviv, October 16, 1930.)

## (b)

## "PARADES" OF LVIV STUDENTS

As was reported yesterday, members of Polish student organizations, dressed in their red caps, attacked on Tuesday, October 14, about 1 o'clock in the afternoon the Ukrainian institutions in the Rynok, on Ruska Street, Czarnecki street, and broke their windows and signs. In the building of the (Ukrainian) Scientific Society of Shevchenko alone 93 window panes were broken (in the Library and the Museum of the Society). Similar and even greater damage was done to the Ukrainian institutions situated in the Rynok and on Ruska Street. There suffered especially: the bookstore of Shevchenko, in which were broken all the window panes facing Ruska Street; "Dostava", in which were demolished all the expensive signs; and the "Soyuzny Bazar", in which were broken the big show windows. Other institutions and stores on

Ruska Street suffered less. It is to be added that two Jewish firms, namely the store of Stierer and the restaurant of Fuks, suffered only because, having Ukrainian patrons, they had Ukrainian signs.

The students who broke windows and Ukrainian signs numbered a few score. In the evening, however, there gathered a crowd numbering more than a thousand persons, and they amused themselves to their hearts' content. They broke the windows in the building of the Ukrainian Theological Seminary, on Kopernik Street; then they broke the signs of the stores of "Maslosoyuz" on Kentszynski and Sapieha Streets (here they broke only the upper store since two others they had demolished several weeks ago); the signs of the "Zemelny Bank" (Land Bank) on Slovacki Street, several windows in the Hotel "Narodna Hostynnytsya"; then the windows of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, on Dominikanska Street; then the show windows and signs of the restaurant of Mr. Maksymko on St. George Place; then the signs of shoemaker J. Kotsyumbas, on Sheptytsky Street; the show windows and signs of the candy shop of Mr. Stetsko, on St. Nicholas Street, and others.

It was already late in the evening, about 10:30, when Polish students, numbering some 100 persons, organized an attack against the orphan asylum, 95 Potocki Street, and the Monastery of St. Basil's SS. Amidst infernal howlings the students hurled at the windows a storm of stones and bricks, the average weight being 1kg. The nuns and the orphans, awakened from their early sleep, did not know what was going on. Some of them, crying, ran out into the corridor, others hid under their beds, cutting their legs and hands on the broken glass. One of the Sisters suffered a heart attack and lay unconscious till the next morning, and several girls and nuns suffered a nervous shock. Polish students inflicted upon them not only considerable material damage, having broken 73 window panes, but also considerable moral wrong to the Ukrainian orphans. Whether such a "patriotic feat" directed against defenseless orphans and nuns is worthy of university students, let the public opinion decide!

"On their way", the Polish students broke also the signs in the house of Dr. Pavlo Tsymbalisty, on Lystopada Street. The doctor, his wife and children were frightened being roughly awakened from their sleep.

The Polish press admits that several hundred students participated in the parade, and the "Dziennik Ludowy" is indignant that

this "demonstration" has inflamed the entire city of Lviv, the more so as the demolition of Ukrainian institutions took place in the very center of the city, in bright daylight, and as the police, according to the "Dziennik Ludowy" put in appearance only after the "demonstration", and even then they arrested an Ukrainian by the name of Pankiv. . . .

On the other hand, the "Lwowski Kurjer Poranny" tries to whitewash the Polish students by saying that some suspicious individuals spread among them a rumor of new acts of sabotage and that Polish university students, influenced by these provocative rumors, "paraded" before Ukrainian institutions, and "various scum took advantage of these parades and broke a couple of windows on Ruska Street. The Polish students exhibited a great tact and moderation, and that is why peace was soon restored. . . ."

What tact and moderation the Polish student organizations manifested we have seen only too well.

(c)

AFTER THE ANTI-UKRAINIAN PARADES

The Scientific Society of Shevchenko notifies the public that on October 14, at noon, Polish university students broke eight big show windows of the bookstore of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko, causing thereby damage to the amount of 1200 zlotys. From the bookstore Polish students paraded to the building of the Library and Museum of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko and broke there with stones and bricks 85 small and 6 large window panes. The damage amounts to 500 zlotys. The Library is used equally by Ukrainian and by Polish scientists. At the moment of the pogrom there were working in the Library 30 persons and several clerks. The Scientific Society is sending out today letters to the Rectorate of Lviv university and of the Lviv Politechnicum and to other Polish cultural and scientific institutions branding this attack upon a purely scientific organization as a pogrom unheard of in the civilized world. The Scientific Society will also notify of the events of October 14, 1930, all its members abroad and all the scientific institutions with which it exchanges permanently its scientific work.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 17, 1930.

(d)

AFTER THE "PARADES" OF POLISH STUDENT  
ORGANIZATIONS AT LVIV

Our list of the institutions, firms and private citizens who have suffered as a result of the notorious "parades" of Polish



university student organizations held in Lviv, on October 14 (see the "Dilo", Nos. 230 and 231), has to be supplemented by the name of the store of "Maslosoyuz" (Ukrainian Dairy Cooperative) on Horodetska Street, where the signs were broken for the first time (in other stores of the "Maslosoyuz" the windows and signs had been broken many a time!) and the grocery store of Mr. Storoshchuk, on Sheptytsky street, where also all the signs were broken.

In the building of the (Ukrainian Greek Catholic) Theological Seminary, on Kopernik Street, 32 big window panes were broken valued at 500 zlotys.

As to the "parade" before the Scientific Society of Shevchenko, on Czarnecki Street, where 85 small windows of the scientific library and 6 large windows of the Museum were broken, it is noteworthy that THE BUILDING OF THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF SHEVCHENKO, situated as it is next to what once was the palace of the governor of Galicia, and now the palace of the Polish voyvoda, HAS SUFFERED FROM STREET EXCESSES FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF ITS EXISTENCE. During all the previous anti-Ukrainian parades and excesses in Lviv,—and of them we had not few!—there was always in the crowd somebody more sensible who would stop the paraders from attacking a library and a museum, and when such were absent the police used finally to stop the parade. This time, however, there was nobody to stop the Polish parade and they bombarded with stones and bricks the Library and the Museum of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko without the least difficulty.

To characterize the sentiments of the Polish public at the present moment it will suffice to bring to the public notice the fact that a group of people, viewing from the sidewalks the smashing of the windows in the bookstore of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko, on Ruska Street, enthusiastically applauded the "feats" of Polish students.

*(Italics are of the original.—Ed.)*

(e)

#### THE ATTACK ON THE HOUSE OF DR. TSYMBALISTY IN LVIV

On October 14, about 11 o'clock in the evening, a group of Polish students, about 40 in number, attacked the private house of Dr. Tsybalisty, on Listopada street, and broke in it all the windows. The stones were hurled with such force that they broke the oven in one of the rooms and in others damaged greatly the

walls. Stones and broken glass covered completely the child's bed in the bed-room so that Dr. Tsymbalisty's son escaped injury by a sheer miracle. The students demolished also the doctor's sign written in Polish (the Ukrainian sign had been destroyed some time ago). It is noteworthy that among the students there were seen five girls, who too took an active part in the attack. Dr. Tsymbalisty at once notified by telephone the police of the attack, but at the time of the attack there was not even a policeman on the entire Listopada street and no policeman appeared before the next morning. Only on October 15, in the morning there appeared at Dr. Tsymbalisty's a policeman and wrote a report. The damages amount to some 500 zlotys.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 18, 1930.

*(The reports of the assault upon Ukrainian organizations by a rabble of Polish students disclose a common pogrom method in Poland. These student "corporations",—the members of many of whom wear special caps,—are one of the chief regular pogrom organizations. Outside of the "Strzelcy", the ex-service men, these are the most alert, quick, and most easily inflammable group.*

*They perform their feats again and again. Similar acts as those described above have been done on many occasions. The authors of these acts do not cease to look upon themselves as heroes or martyrs for the national cause just because the police come always too late to see their "parade" and neither public prosecutors nor judges would think even for a moment of hailing them to court for trial.*

*The Polish public look at them with favor. The Polish press at worst when feeling that the excesses went too far, would not praise but furnish extenuating circumstances.*

*Such was the case in this particular instance. The police came to the scene of the parade after all was over, though the students went from one Ukrainian institution to another, from one section of the city to another, and took their time in doing so. No Polish student was arrested, and of course, not one was hailed to answer either before a court or the school authorities. No Polish paper criticized the behavior of the students, "the intelligentsia of tomorrow". In the opinion of the Polish press it was a sufficient excuse to say that a rumor was spread among the students of some new act of sabotage. It was absolutely within the rights of those students, the Polish press holds, to hear a rumor of a stack of Polish hay burnt and to rush at once to stone an Ukrainian bookstore or an Ukrainian scientific society, its library or museum.*

*Isn't just this attitude of the Polish press the best illustration of the service of that press for the creation of the tense atmosphere in which even a body of students can turn into a passionate rabble ready to burn and kill?*

*Taking as a whole these student "corporations" starting on their orgy of destruction, that press furnishing excuses for their ire, and the venerable university authorities who have not a word to say to the students on this account, and the public prosecutors and judges and police who never stir one finger to discover or to punish the perpetrators or leaders,—isn't this all together a perfect picture of a race capable not only of ruling themselves, but also of ruling others?—Ed.)*

## 5.

## A FEW MORE EXAMPLES OF "REVANCHE"

*(The Polish press reports such and similar cases only when they have great news value. For an Ukrainian newspaper each such report is wrought with dangers of suppression. They take, therefore, a great care in publishing them. Hence many such cases pass unnoticed by the press.*

*Here are published a few cases taken at random from the Ukrainian press.—Ed.)*

## (a)

A BOMB EXPLODES NEAR THE MONASTERY OF  
FATHERS STUDITES

On September 24, about 3 o'clock in the morning, there appeared before the monastery of Fathers Studites in Znesinya near Lviv four unknown men, who woke up with a revolver shot the inmates of the monastery and its guards. The monks at once ran to the courtyard, and in this very moment at a distance of a dozen paces away from the monastery there was heard a terrible explosion. The explosion did not damage the building nor the wooden church, which has an incalculable artistic value. After the explosion the culprits in their flight fired several shots at the monastery. The monks found under the house another bomb which had failed to explode because the fuse had gone out. . . . A part of the explosive, wrapped up in a paper, was found later on a window sill.

It is to be noted that the monastery of Fathers Studites is salt in the eyes of Polish chauvinists of Lviv. Only a few weeks prior to the explosion the Catholic "Lwowski Kurjer Poranny" brutally attacked Fathers Studites for daring to build a church within the city of Lviv, though it is a Catholic church and built of wood. . . .

"Dilo", September 26, 1930.

*(The Polish authorities were reported to have started an investigation, but there were no results.—Ed.)*

(b)

## RELATIONS IN THE CITY OF TARNOPOL.

We receive the following communication from the city of Tarnopol:

On September 23, at night, eight windows were broken in the Ukrainian "gymnasium" (college) for girls. Students of Polish schools attack the student-girls of Ukrainian schools in the streets, tear off their caps, spit on them, hurls stones and mud at them.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 1, 1930.

(c)

## AN ATTEMPT UPON A READING-ROOM OF "PROSVITA".

On October 8, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, there occurred an explosion in the building of the reading-room of "Prosvita" in Fraza, district of Rohatyn. The explosion demolished a section of the wall. Who placed the explosive is unknown.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 11, 1930.

(d)

## A BOMB ATTEMPT AGAINST AN UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVE.

On Monday, at night, two bombs of military type were thrown into the Ukrainian cooperative in the village of Radylycha, district of Drohobych. The bombs failed to explode. The military authorities notified of this took the bombs. The police started an investigation. Polish newspapers report that arrests were made, but do not mention who was arrested.

"Dilo", Lviv, September 26, 1930.

(e)

## AN EXPLOSION AT THE CEMETERY OF UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS.

The Polish Telegraphic Agency reports: On October 16, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, some unknown persons placed a bomb under the grave of Ukrainian soldiers on the Siletska Mountain in the village of Tyazhiv, in the district of Stanislaviv. A part of the grave was destroyed.

"Dilo", October 18, 1930.



(f)

## AN ATTEMPT ON A MONUMENT

On October 31, about half past two at night, the inhabitants of the town of Terebovla were awakened from their sleep by a terrific explosion in the very center of the town. It appeared that some, so far not discovered persons attempted to blow up the monument erected in honor of Ukrainian soldiers fallen in the war, which stands near the Ukrainian church. The monument was damaged only slightly, but the neighboring houses as well as the Ukrainian church suffered considerably. In all the neighboring houses, as well as in the parochial house, all the windows were shattered. In the church the big front window was destroyed completely, and in the side windows window panes were broken. Fortunately, there were no victims in people; the only person to suffer a light wound was Mrs. Got, the church singer's wife, who was wounded by fragments of smashed window panes.

Two guards were at the monument on the critical night, but the perpetrators drove them away and then placed the bomb.

Rev. Mokhnatsky and Dr. Zaplitny intervened with the supreme officer of the district on the next day. The officer promised to start a strict investigation and for the time being to strengthen the guards in the town.

"Dilo", November 8, 1930.

(g)

## CROSSES TORN DOWN

In the village of Yamnytsya, in the district of Stanyslaviv, some unknown individuals tore down two Ukrainian stone crosses, one of which was erected in the memory of the abolition of serfdom, the other in the memory of V. Senechnyuk. They also destroyed the cement cross erected in the memory of Ukrainian soldiers fallen in the war and tore out the window sashes from the windows of the communal building.

"Dilo", November 18, 1930.

(h)

## SEARCHES AND ARRESTS

Numerous searches are being conducted in the district of the State police post at Tavriv.

The members of the "Strzelec", armed with military rifles, officiate as "citizens' guard". On Friday night, November 15, they

arrested nine farmers, the leading Ukrainians of the village. . . . They also arrested three farmers from the village of Kaplyntsi and one from the village of Dmukhavets. At eight o'clock in the morning they were all conducted on foot to the town of Berezhan by the police and by the "Strzelcy".

"Dilo", November 21, 1930.

*(The "Strzelcy", though members of a civilian organization, and no governmental organization, carry here openly guns and act as if they were special officers of the law.—Ed.)*

(i)

AN ATTACK OF ARMED MEN ON THE VILLAGE OF  
KILAVCHE, DISTRICT OF TEREBOVLA

On November 15, about 10 o'clock in the evening, a group of men, masked and armed with military rifles, came to the mayor of the village and demanded billeting quarters for a detachment of soldiers who were, they said, to come to the village during the elections. They started their announcement of the soldiers to be quartered by breaking the windows in the reading-room. After that they went to the second branch of the local cooperative and there broke the locks, trying to enter it. They did not succeed in breaking into the cooperative, but did damage to the amount of 52 zlotys. Hence they went to the household of Nicholas Novosad, Semko's son, broke the windows of his house, tore up featherbeds in the pantry, scattered the feathers on the ground and poured flour on it. At the household of Paul Pihovych, the headman of the council of directors of the cooperative, they broke the windows and poured the grain from the sacks on the floor of the pantry. At the household of Michael Zcenchyshyn, a Ukrainian of Latin rite, they broke the windows and poured his flour and grain on the floor, emptied a barrel of dilled cabbage on it and mixed it. Then they went to Stephen Posmityuch's, but his wife begged them not to destroy anything. One of the assailants said to his men in Polish, "It's not allowed!" and they went away, without ruining anything. At Gregory Stets's they broke the windows, and one of them struck the owner's wife. At Ivan Bodivsky's, the treasurer of the cooperative, they poured the grain from the sacks to the floor of the store-room and whipped his daughter, who slept there. They broke also the windows in the houses of Yasko Abramovych and Nicholas Malchos. They whipped the watchmen who guarded telegraph posts. When it began to dawn,

the people awakened and came to conclusion that the talk about the billeting of soldiers must be an invention. Seeing that there are no soldiers in the village, they went after the assailants, who ran away, having first damaged a Ukrainian monument.

"Dilo", Lviv, November 21, 1930.

(j)

#### RESCINDING A SUPPRESSION ORDER.

The district court of Lviv, at its session, December 10, 1930, decided to revoke the suppression of the resolutions which had been passed at a Mass Meeting of the Ukrainian students of the Polytechnicum at Lviv, after the breaking up of the general meeting of the "Osnova." We give below the text of those resolutions in full:

(k)

#### THE RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS OF POLYTECHNICUM.

The Ukrainian students of the Polytechnicum at Lviv, assembled at their meeting on November 30, 1930, state with indignation as follows:

1) A group of Polish university students, led by Kolaczek and Kosowski, assistant professors of the Polytechnicum, broke into the meeting of the Society of the Ukrainian Students of Lviv Polytechnicum "Osnova," which was held on November 30, 1930, in the hall of the Polytechnicum No. 10, with the permission of the Rector of the Polytechnicum and in the presence of a delegate of the Senate of the Polytechnicum. This group broke the doors, entered the hall and by means of vulgar abuses attempted to provoke a reaction on the part of the student participating in the meeting of their society. Only thanks to a dignified attitude of the Ukrainian students a bloodshed was prevented.

2) The representative of the Senate, terrorized by this attack, did not take the side of the Ukrainian students but dissolved the meeting of the "Osnova," thus approving the provocation and the uncivilized behavior.

3) This incident is another instance of the provocation by the Polish students, conducted systematically which the purpose of making it impossible for Ukrainian students to study in Polish higher school. Out of a whole series of such actions we may enumerate a few, such as taking away from Ukrainian students caps and insignia, beating them up within the walls of the Polytechnicum, destroying the bulletin board of the "Osnova"

for four times, forcefully ejecting 16 students from the Polytechnic dormitories in Dublany, near Lviv, and so on.

4) The Ukrainian students have always stood on the standpoint that their normal studies would be possible only in Ukrainian higher schools and decisively demand that Ukrainian higher schools be opened in Lviv.

(*"Dilo,"* Lviv, December 18, 1930).

*(The Polish censor had suppressed the above resolutions. What could be his reasons is open to a guess. The court decided that there is no justification for the suppression and released the report. In the meantime, of course, the publishers had to print another issue.*

*The report gives a conception what "sports" are popular among Polish students of universities and technical schools in Poland. Neither the students nor the assistants of the school who led the assault upon their co-students of the Ukrainian race were punished or even questioned about their acts, either by the courts or the Politechnicum authorities.—Ed.)*

### XXXIII.

#### POLISH COURTS AND THE ATROCITIES IN UKRAINE.

##### 1.

#### UKRAINIAN LEADERS CALL TO LEGAL DEFENSE.

##### (a)

#### ON THE LEGAL SELF-DEFENSE

#### THE POLISH CONSTITUTION ON THE PROTECTION OF THE PERSON AND PROPERTY OF CITIZENS

In connection with the current events in our land, we quote those articles of the Polish constitution that speak of the protection of property and limbs of Polish citizens and of the seeking of redress of the rights in the case such a protection fails.

The Article 95 of the Constitution states:

"THE POLISH REPUBLIC GUARANTEES ON ITS TERRITORY FULL PROTECTION OF LIFE, FREEDOM AND PROPERTY TO ALL WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF NATIONALITY, LANGUAGE, RACE OR RELIGION."

The Article 98 says:

"PROSECUTION AND PUNISHMENT OF A CITIZEN IS ADMISSIBLE ONLY ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF THE LAWS IN FORCE. PUNISHMENTS ACCOMPANIED BY PHYSICAL TORMENTS ARE NOT PERMITTED AND NOBODY SHALL BE SUBJECT TO SUCH PUNISHMENTS.



"NO STATUTE SHALL CLOSE A CITIZEN'S ROAD TO SEEK REDRESS FOR DAMAGES OR LOSSES IN THE COURTS."

The Article 121, says:

"EVERY CITIZEN HAS THE RIGHT TO THE REMUNERATION OF DAMAGES DONE TO HIM BY THE ORGANS OF THE STATE AUTHORITY, CIVILIAN OR MILITARY, IN THEIR OFFICIAL ACTIVITY, CONTRARY TO THE LAW AND THE DUTIES OF THE OFFICE. THE STATE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DAMAGES SOLIDARILY WITH THE GUILTY STATE ORGANS. BRINGING OF ACTION AGAINST THE STATE AND ITS OFFICERS DOES NOT DEPEND UPON THE PERMISSION OF THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES."

Don't wave the hands as if to say, "This is as much as to bring a suit to God." By the law may be benefitted only those who know how to draw that benefit. Pacifications cannot exist forever. The period of elections, too, will pass, and the great losses of national property and the physical torments should not be passed by.

The numbers of the badges of the gendarmes should be remembered and marked down, as well as the voyvodship to which they belong (those having No. 8, on their sleeves, belong to the voyvodship of Lviv, No. 9, to that of Tarnopol, No. 10, to that of Stanislaviv), the name of the commissar of the commandant of the military detachment. Further should be remembered the names of the witnesses of the damages done and of the physical torments inflicted, and immediately after the event people should be called to appraise the damages done and eventually to testify on it before the court on oath.

It is before all the duty of district cooperative unions, of the district offices of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) and of intellectuals to preserve all the data that might render possible seeking of redress upon the only accessible road of law. Those who have been flogged should let themselves be examined by doctors, who should ascertain the damage done to the body. Do not drop your hands, but take up into your hands the matter of legal self-defense.

("Dilo", Ukrainian daily, Lviv, October 5, 1930.)

(b)

WHAT ABOUT THE DAMAGES OF THE COOPERATIVES?

What will become of the losses which Ukrainian cooperatives have suffered lately as the result of the sustained damages?

We, cooperative workers, cannot accept the opinion which seems to be current. They say, "What kind of law is it that

when before our very eyes the property of cooperatives is destroyed, the law remains silent? To be sure, those responsible for the defense of the law are not silent, but their talk does not go in the direction of the defense of the law, but in an altogether different direction. What of it that the Art. 99, of the Polish constitution considers every kind of property one of the most important foundations of the social system and public order, when valuable fruits of human labor are taken away for the purpose of simple destruction? What of it that the Art. 98, of the Polish constitution says that "all the punishments which entail physical tortures are prohibited and nobody should be subjected to such punishments"; when dozens upon dozens of our best and most idealistic cooperative workers were subjected to such illegal punishments without trial? There is no more law."

Such an opinion cannot be accepted by cooperative workers. The phenomena of which cooperative workers complain of have to be viewed as violations of law, and it is our duty to take the rule of the defenders of the law.

*(The article then explains how the damages sustained by the cooperatives should be ascertained, catalogued and reported to the central union of the Ukrainian cooperatives.—Ed.)*

"Hospodarsko-Kooperatyvny Chasopys" (Farming-Cooperative Periodical), in Ukrainian, Lviv, October 26, 1930.

*(The above appeals to the Ukrainians, the former coming from an influential political organ, the latter from an influential organ of cooperatists, introduce us to the attitude of the Polish courts to the Polish atrocities in Ukraine.*

*This is the topic of this chapter.*

An appeal to courts must have suggested itself to any one reading the preceding pages. As he read the quotations from the Polish constitution, he probably asked himself whether the Polish courts, those organs of government, created for the specific purpose of upholding the existing laws, could not be made to enforce the provisions of that constitution. As he read statements of various Polish administrative officers and then the denials from various Ukrainian sources, he surely asked himself, why couldn't the truth or untruth of such relevant matters be established by a trial as a result of an action at law? Now Ukrainians take this attitude and call their compatriots to prepare to take matters into Polish courts.

This fact needs an emphasis in view of the fact that the Polish pre-government press has spoken of bombs being planted by Ukrainian themselves into their own institutions, with some purpose of self-destruction. The reader might perhaps discover in the above articles traces of some

irritation, which are quite natural amidst the trying circumstances in which they were written, he will probably see how desperate appears the state of the race to its leaders, but are those counsels of despair? Is there in them the conclusion that the fate of the race is already sealed, that all the means of struggle are already exhausted?

The leaders of the Ukrainian parties and cooperatives refuse to take the attitude of despair. Not only do they refuse to think that their cause is lost, but they do not give up the belief that something may be accomplished by legal means. They haven't even given up the legal methods. This is noteworthy in view of the charges broadcast by the Polish side charges to the effect that all the Ukrainian politicians and cooperatists and educators and sportsmen are revolutionists, and the Ukrainian revolutionary group has proclaimed persistently that the Ukrainian has nothing to expect from legal methods.

As this book treats only of the relations of the Polish courts to the Polish atrocities in Ukraine, it has to be stated passingly that a Ukrainian appealing to the Polish court has special difficulties to overcome. Even if the matter under trial does not refer directly to inter-racial relations of the country, the Poles remember well that this court used to be a Russian or an Austrian court. When a Pole is opposed by a Ukrainian he might remember that this is a Ukrainian province, that a certain time, no matter how short, a Ukrainian court had been in session here. All this intensifies the Pole's feeling that this court should side with him against his Ukrainian opponent, this low aggressor, that this court should be his. The more insecure he feels about the matter in dispute, the more emphasis he would place upon the appeal to this sentiment of the judge and the jury. This is done by various ways: He or his lawyer makes an issue out of the opponent's use of the Ukrainian language in his depositions; the Pole's service in the Polish army during the Ukrainian war is brought in; or the Ukrainian is referred by one of the opprobrious names which the Poles like to use to designate Ukrainians.

The trials in Polish courts of Ukrainians are full of such matters. Public prosecutors write their indictments against the Ukrainians as if they were not functionaries of the machinery of justice, but gingoistic spellbinders. Police spies and provocateurs are permitted to state hearsay, to take for granted facts which had not been proved, to express from such evidence far-fetched conclusions, and their opinions are respected by the court as if they were uncontrovertible proofs of facts recognized as such by the jury, after a thorough investigation and sifting of evidence. Judges indulge in attacks against the statements of facts in Ukrainian testimonies if these statements are contrary to the current prejudices of the Polish government, public or press. There is little wonder that many Ukrainians prefer to give up their most just rights than sue them in Polish courts.

*If such is the fate of a Ukrainian in matters of dispute between Polish and Ukrainian individuals, what is the position of a Ukrainian in all those cases in which the relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians are relevant matters? (Such were surely all the matters pertaining to the questions arising out of the Polish "pacification" of the Ukrainian provinces.) And still the Ukrainians go into the Polish courts. If there are important questions of the Polish administration involved in the "pacification," such as: the question of corporal punishment, of justice by of administrative procedure, of collective responsibility of the Ukrainians or of Ukrainian organizations for the acts of every Ukrainian member of the race or the organization, and so on, let those matters be authoritatively decided by the court. The Ukrainian political and cooperatist leaders refuse to take the word of the Polish press or the Polish civilian organizations for such an answer.*

*What was then the reply of the Polish courts to those questions?—Ed.)*

## 2.

### GOVERNMENT OBSTRUCTS COLLECTION OF EVIDENCE.

#### (a)

#### POLISH GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO PREVENT PHYSICIANS FROM TAKING AND PUBLISHING PICTURES OF ATROCITY VICTIMS

Lviv (Lemberg), November 13, 1930.—The Polish police searched the offices of various Ukrainian physicians at Lviv, seeking photographs of Ukrainian people flogged by the Polish punitive expeditions.

The police searched the offices of the following physicians: Dr. Ivan Kurovets, Director of the Ukrainian hospital "Narodna Lichnytsya"; Dr. Tytus Burachynsky, Dr. Markian Dzerovych, Dr. Yaroslav Hynelvych, Dr. Vasyl Kashubynsky, Dr. Rostyslav Bilas and Dr. Bohdan Makarushka.

"Svoboda", the Ukrainian Daily, Jersey City, New Jersey,  
December 3, 1930.

#### (b)

#### POLES ARREST UKRAINIAN LAWYERS CHARGES MADE AGAINST THEM FOR COLLECTING FACTS OF ATROCITIES

Lviv (Lemberg), November 28.—The Polish police arrested in the city of Tarnopol five Ukrainian lawyers and detained them



in prison. In the office of each of them the Polish police made a thorough search and confiscated all the depositions which were given to the lawyers by the Ukrainian victims of Polish atrocities in Galicia. In this manner the government intends to deprive the Ukrainians of all possibility of bringing into the courts any action for damages done by the punitive expeditions or various Polish organizations and persons. The police charge that the taking of such depositions of the victims or witnesses is high treason.

Among those arrested are the lawyers: Dr. Alexander Olynyk, Dr. Volodymyr Lysy, Dr. Ivan Yakymchuk, Dr. Dmytro Ladyka and Dr. Luke Onuferko.

Similar searches and arrests are carried out in other cities of Eastern Galicia.

#### THE CASE OF THE ARRESTED UKRAINIAN LAWYERS

As we have already reported, there were arrested in the city of Tarnopol on November 22, 1930, the lawyers, Dr. Alexander Olynyk and Dr. Volodymyr Lysy, and on the following day three more lawyers, namely: Dr. Ivan Yakymchuk, Dr. Dmytro Ladyka, now a deputy to the Polish Sejm, and Dr. Luke Onuferko. They were charged with political espionage according to section 1 and 5 of the decree of the President of Poland dated February 16, 1928, which they are said to have committed by taking depositions from their clients injured in the so-called pacification.

After a few days the said lawyers were released, but the investigation against them for the crime charged continues.

Charged with the same crime there were also arrested the lawyer Dr. Yaroslav Selezinka of Radekhiv and his wife, Mrs. Nina Selezinka, who have so far been detained in the prison of Zolochiv about six weeks.

The Polish police has charged that the above lawyers took the depositions from their clients with the purpose of sending them abroad and to use them there politically against Poland to illustrate the methods of pacification.

In this matter Dr. Vasyl Paneyko of Paris has already filed a special complaint with the League of Nations at Geneva, in care of the League's General Secretary Mr. Eric Drummond, in which he gave a detailed account of the causes of the arrests of the six lawyers. The text of the complaint cannot be here given for fear of being suppressed by the Polish censor.

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lemberg, No .277, Saturday, December 13, 1930.)

c.

## WHOLESALE ARRESTS AND RAIDS OF UKRAINIANS TO PREVENT PROOFS OF POLISH ATROCITIES FROM GOING ABROAD

(Special correspondence to "Svoboda")

LVIV (Lemberg).—Five Ukrainian lawyers were arrested in the city of Tarnopol and jailed by the Polish police. Among them are: Dr. Alexander Olinyk, Dr. Volodymyr Lysy, Dr. Ivan Yakymchuk, Dr. Dmytro Ladyka and Dr. Luke Onuferko. In the law offices of each of them a thorough search was made and the police confiscated all statements and depositions which had been made by the clients of those lawyers regarding the recent events in Galicia.

The purpose of these raids was to deprive the Ukrainians of the possibility of bringing suit in court against the criminal acts and recovering damages which had been inflicted upon them by the so-called punitive expeditions or by various attacks of Polish organizations or individuals.

The Polish police treat as criminals the lawyers who take such depositions from victims and witnesses to draw complaints against the police in Polish courts. With this purpose in view Polish authorities in Galicia make use of the decree of the President of the Polish republic dated February 24, 1928, which widened the old interpretation of military espionage by the Austrian government so as to include the so-called "political and economic espionage." On the basis of this decree the Polish police conduct raids and arrest Ukrainian lawyers, doctors and social workers, charging them with espionage and high treason.

A section of this decree reads:

"Whoever intentionally reveals to another person information, documents or other objects which in view of the welfare of the Polish nation should be kept secret from the government of any other nation, shall be subject to imprisonment for five years."

Another section reads:

"Whoever intentionally and without authorization collects information, or secures documents enumerated in Section 1, or makes efforts to secure them or become acquainted with them, shall be subject to three years imprisonment."

On the grounds of these queer sections were recently arrested Dr. Selezinka, the lawyer at Radekhiv, and his wife. The "crime" of Dr. Selezinka consists of taking, in his office, the deposition

of his clients about Polish brutalities. The arrest of the five above-mentioned lawyers leaves little doubt as to the threat of the Polish authorities that they would arrest under the charge of espionage all the Ukrainian lawyers, physicians and social workers who would represent in court those who had suffered from Polish punitive expeditions or in general those who had suffered from Polish persecutions. The President of the Polish republic himself, by his decree, has deprived the inhabitants of Poland of the right and possibility of defending themselves against tortures and illegal treatment by the authorities.

("Svoboda", Ukrainian daily, Jersey City, N. J., December 15, 1930.)

*(The arrests of the lawyers and physicians were evidently illegal. Those intellectuals were bound in their profession to render assistance to those who feel themselves wronged and seek a legal decision of the courts of justice on their grievances.*

*That the arrests had not been justified was admitted later by the Polish government when they were released with no charges pending against them.*

*They were released, however, only after a detention for a considerable period of time, in some cases for many weeks. In the meantime, of course, their cases dropped or suffered great damage. Some of them were deprived forever of all the possibility of suing their grievances in the court of law.*

*The doctors and lawyers were detained on one of the most serious charges, that of high treason, which carries in most cases the threat of death punishment. It was evidently a threat, one of the most telling threats a government can voice. This makes the purpose of the arrests evident: they were to intimidate lawyers and physicians from making or attesting depositions, and the victims of the atrocities themselves from making legal complaints in the courts.*

*The terror is a clear case of tampering with the evidence any government may be guilty of. It is a deplorable interference with justice, the more deplorable as carried by those organs whose duty it is to uphold justice and to right the wrongs. It is a deplorable interference with justice since it is done before the court was given an opportunity to pass upon the justice of the grievance. It is deplorable because the government is seen to act in it like a criminal who having committed one crime commits another in order to obliterate the traces of the first.*

*The Polish government is guilty of other similar acts. Parallels to it we may find in the suppression of newspaper reports by the Polish censor, in impeding foreign investigations, and the arrests of foreign correspondents.*

*but while those investigations might be excused on the ground that foreigners have no right to meddle into the internal affairs of Poland (if Poland had not admitted the right of the Allies and the League of Nations for such or similar meddling and if Poland herself had not invited foreign correspondents for such an investigation), these investigations by lawyers and physicians are part and parcel of the administration of justice to the citizens of Poland, be they of non-Polish race, and all the terror against those who can make such appeals to the courts is nothing short of the refusal of the right to appeal to the court for the adjudication of the grievance.*

*The arrests, of course, have greatly impeded the collection of evidence of the Polish atrocities in Ukraine.—Ed.)*

### 3.

#### UKRAINIANS PREPARE TO SUE POLISH OFFICIALS FOR DAMAGES.

##### (a)

The following are copies of formal court papers as they are filed with the District Court of Horodenka, in Eastern Galicia.

#### A UKRAINIAN COMPLAINT

To the District Court of Horodenka.

The "Narodny Dim" (National Home), a registered cooperative, with home offices at Horodenka, represented by its director Dr. Teophile Okunevsky, lawyer of Horodenka, brings herewith an action against unknown culprits.

A motion is herewith made for official authentication of evidence for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of damages sustained by the "Narodny Dim" in Horodenka done by unknown perpetrators on October 6, 1930.

On October 6, 1930, about 8 o'clock in the morning some 50 armed people entered the court of the "National Home" in Horodenka and broke the windows, door sashes and floors of the hall of the "Narodny Dim," as well as the rooms of the club, "Besida" (Discourse) and "Mishchanska Rodyna" (Burgher Family).

They tore off the tin roof from the porch of the so-called theater hall, completely demolished the stage and tore down the curtain.

To this "work" they drove, with sticks and whips, passers-by from the street.

The names of the persons who have done this damage are not known yet in full to the "Narodny Dim", as the persons were outsiders.



The building of the "Narodny Dim" cannot remain in its present condition for since the roof leaks, the building's walls and roof may cave in, and through open windows anybody having such desire may climb in and carry away various objects that were left behind.

In view of this state of affairs, the directors of the "Narodny Dim" in Horodenka appeal the court for safeguarding the evidence in accordance with sections 384 and 385 of the code of Civil Procedure, to wit:

1. that the Court order an inspection of the "Narodny Dim" and its internal furnishings;
2. that the Court order an estimate of the damages sustained to be taken;
3. that the Court order an examination of the persons who witnessed the incident.

The management of the "Narodny Dim" recommends the following persons as experts (follow the names of recommended experts).

(The names of the directors follow.)

(b)

To the above complaint the "Narodny Dim" in Horodenka received the following decision of the Polish district court at Horodenka:

The complaint of the "Narodny Dim", regist. cooperative, Ltd., in care of its director Dr. Theophile Okunevsky, lawyer at Horodenka, against unknown culprits for the ascertainment of damages sustained in the building of the "Narodny Dim" at Horodenka done by unknown persons on October 6, 1930, is herewith rejected because this complaint carries the earmarks of a political demonstration against the administrative-police officers who, carrying out their criminal inquiries for the purpose of disclosing those guilty of acts of sabotage which take the form of burning of other people's property in Eastern Little Poland, as well as in the district of Horodenka—have ordered, on October 6, 1930, among other things, a search of the offices of the "Narodny Dim" in Horodenka as one suspected, the search being carried out by the organs of the State Police, a fact which is well known to the management of the "Narodny Dim", since this fact is notorious.

The allegation of the Management of the "Narodny Dim", that on that particular day the house of the "Narodny Dim" was invaded by about fifty armed unknown persons who destroyed

therein the windows, doors, floors and roof, is an evident untruth and has therefore the character of an obvious political demonstration against the authorities which ordered and carried out this search.

For the above given reasons the application of the "Narodny Dim" is dismissed as one inadmissible in law.

(Signed) Wydra, the President of the District Court.

(c)

#### APPEAL

of the "Narodny Dim" (National Home), a regist. cooperative, Ltd., in Horodenka, to the County Court at Kolomea, against the decision of the district court of Horodenka, of October 11, 1930, by which the application of the "Narodny Dim" of Horodenka for insurance of evidence for the purpose of ascertaining and assessing damages sustained by the building of the "Narodny Dim" at Horodenka by unknown culprits on October 6, 1930, was rejected.

The lower court rejected the application for the ascertainment of damages on the sole ground that this application has apparent earmarks of a political demonstration against the administrative-police authorities, who had carried out, on October 6, 1930, in the "Narodny Dim" at Horodenka, a search, or, to speak more truly, a reprisal.

This motivation is in striking conflict with the basic laws of the constitution, and especially with the article 98, which says, "No law shall deprive a citizen of the Polish Republic of the right to seek redress for his injury or loss in the courts".

In this case the court of Horodenka closes this road and prevents the seeking of redress under pretext that this is a mere political demonstration against the administrative-police authorities.

Article 121 of the basic laws says that every citizen has the right to seek redress for damages done to him by the organs of the government through their official activities, which are contrary to the laws or duties of service.

It means that the constitutional law admits the possibility of behavior of administrative authorities contrary to the laws and does not classify seeking redress for damages sustained, as an inadmissible political demonstration.

Minister Skladowski himself has been quoted in semi-official newspapers as well as by the metropolitan Sheptytsky as stating

that damages which the police authorities had done while carrying out their reprisals,—and it surely was no search, but a reprisal,—will be restituted to those who have suffered them. And here the district court of Horodenka refuses to ascertain the damages sustained.

The lower court sees a ground for its refusal of the application in the damages sustained by the acts of sabotage in our country. But nobody has proved that the management or members of the "Narodny Dim" were guilty of sabotage or incendiaryisms. Nor was ever any connection with those guilty of sabotage proved against the members of any other institution which has its offices in the "Narodny Dim", as for instance, the "Narodna Torhovla" (National Store), the bookstore, the District Bank, or "Besida" (Discourse).

That the police did not consider their activities as a search is attested by the fact that they failed to notify the management of the "Narodny Dim" of the purpose of the search, did not call any of them to be present at this search, as they were obliged to do by section 149 of the code of criminal procedure,—but proceeded at once to break the windows, doors, and other parts of the building.

How can an innocent institution be punished for a crime which was committed by somebody elsewhere?

Such a general responsibility of communes and of whole nations was in force in Russia, but never in Central Europe, and the introduction of it into our country would be a lowering of our culture to the level prevalent in Asia.

Besides, in this case the application was not for ascertaining damages,—this will be decided by another court,—and for the present it is irrelevant who has done the damage, and for this reason the lower judge should admit the process of insuring the evidence in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The lower judge concludes by charging, not without irritation, that the management of the "Narodny Dim" does not speak the truth when it says that about fifty armed men entered the court of the "Narodny Dim" and did damage, for, he says, it is obvious that it was the police who were carrying out the search!

Are searches carried out in such a manner as illustrated by the photograph, given as exhibit, of the "Narodny Dim" following the visit of the police on October 6, 1930? Let this question be decided with greater calm, by the higher judge of appeals. The lower judge even erred in convincing the management of the

"Narodny Dim" that they personally knew those fifty men who took part in the search.

In view of the fact that the end of Article 121 of the constitution states that the government of Poland is not responsible for the illegal acts of its police, the management of the "Narodny Dim" is compelled to seek redress from individual policemen and those who sent them. The names of the policemen should be known and above everything else the amount of damages should be assessed.

Therefore the charge of an evident political demonstration is erroneous and unjust.

In view of this, the management of the "Narodny Dim" at Horodenka applies for the reversal of the above decision and the admission of ascertainment of the damages and its estimate.

In the name of the management of the "Narodny Dim" in Horodenka:

(Signed) Dr. T. Okunevsky and others.

(d)

The decision of the District Court at Kolomyja.

The District Court of Kolomyja, District No. 3.

Dated November 5, 1930.

Lcz. 1.3.640/30

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The District Court of Kolomyja, Division 1, in the matter of the cooperative "Narodny Dim", acting through its director Dr. Teophile Okunevsky in Horodenka, for the safeguarding of evidence against the unknown culprits, as a result of the appeal of the appellants from the decision of the District Court at Horodenka dated November 11, 1930, Lcz.II.Nc. 35/30/2 has taken the following decision:

The appeal is rejected and the decision appealed is confirmed.

Motivation: The safeguarding of the evidence before the beginning of court proceedings has for its purpose the utilization of the evidence in future litigation (section 384 of the Article 1. and sect. 389 of the Art. 1.pc.).

When such a litigation is inadmissible, then also the safeguarding of the evidence is inadmissible.

According to the purport of the motion, supplemented by the purport of the appeal, the matter in question is to safeguard the damages done by the organs of the State Police by their official acts contrary to the duties of their office.



Art. 121. of the Constitution of the Polish Republic, dated March 17, 1921, as published in the Official Reports of the Laws of the Polish Republic, No. 44. of 1922, Pos. 267, in the text fixed by the law of August 2, 1926, as reported by the Official Reports of the Laws of the Polish Republic for 1926, No. 78, pos. 443. reads:

"Every citizen has the right to remuneration of damages which have been done to him by the organs of the State authorities, civil or military, in the course of official activities contrary to the law or duties of the office; the State being responsible for the damages on an equal basis with the guilty organs, and bringing an action against the State and against State officials is not dependent upon any permission of public authorities. Likewise responsible are communes and other self-governing bodies as well as their organs.

"The operation of this principle is outlined by special laws."

These special laws have not as yet been passed. In view of this, the old orders are still in force, that is, the Imperial Decree of March 14, 1806, No. 756 of the Collection of Judicial Laws. According to it, an official of the State could never be sued before a civil court on account of his official acts and thus a civil judge is obliged *ex officio* to reject at once all such lawsuits brought against State officials regarding their official acts.

Because in this case a suit against the officers of the State Police would be inadmissible, the safeguarding of the evidence, if directed against these functionaries, is likewise inadmissible.

For these reasons the decision for which appeal was made is to be confirmed.—(Signed) Wagner.

That this is a true verdict is attested by the chief clerk of the court office, Fasowski, mp.

*(The above documents exemplify what redress the Ukrainians find in Polish courts.*

*Polish courts do not hesitate to admit that the raid by armed men, which carried all the earmarks of an act of hooliganism, was an official act of the Polish police. It is, by the way, typical of the Polish courts to know the actions of the police authoritatively though one could expect that the official character of such a raid be ascertained only during the court proceedings to follow. This points to a close cooperation between the police, making raids, and the courts,—a fact to which the people of free countries are not accustomed.*

*The declaration of Mr. Skladowski, the Polish Minister of the Interior, promising a redress against the police authorities for the damages done by them illegally, is very characteristic of the Polish government. The wronged parties in this case quote Mr. Skladowski's words as given by semi-official*

newspapers. The same Minister later repeated his promise in the Polish parliament, when in answer to the interpellation of the Ukrainian deputies, he,—as was reported by the Associated Press from Warsaw on January 9, 1931,—assured the Deputies that a thorough investigation was proceeding and that those guilty of abuses would be punished. Such declarations published and republished are usually given wide publicity abroad, where they are swallowed, hook, line and sinker.

Such denials are usually accompanied by the assurances of the liberalism of Polish political institutions. The Polish Constitution and laws are then quoted, such as, for example, fundamental principles of the Polish Constitution, quoted above both by the Polish courts and the Ukrainians, that a citizen of Poland wronged by State officials has the right of redress both to the State and the officials. When a foreign reader hears that the Polish Constitution adapted such a "liberal" principle in 1921, and then restated it in 1926, there will be no doubt left in his mind as to liberal, progressive, constitutional, parliamentary, genuinely Western character of the Polish political structure.

But what is the practical value of such a fine constitution for the citizen of Poland? Has he really redress promised him by the Constitution in case he is really wronged by the acts of State functionaries? The above mentioned Polish court answers the question authoritatively, stating explicitly that though there is such a principle of official responsibility for the acts of State officials incorporated into the Polish Constitution, and though the principle was restated, no law has as yet been passed to carry into effect the said liberal principle. Thus the liberal principle is in the Polish Constitution, ready for export and foreign use, but it has no value for the citizens of the Polish Republic. For them, it is as good as non-existent. It merely cheats them and makes them believe that they possess something which promotes their well-being. Instead of the liberal protection against the abuses of State officials, the citizens have the "protection" of a "court decree" 125 years old, a "decree" transformed into a law by the Austrian emperor in 1806, which is two generations before the inception of the constitutional era in Austria.

It may be added to this that a number of Ukrainian and Czech lawyers expressed their opinion that the above stand of the Polish courts is based upon a false interpretation of the Imperial Decree of March 14, 1906; in their opinion, the Decree exempted only the true officials of the state, but made the so-called servants of the state, among them the police, answerable for the damages done to subjects, when performing their official duty.

The documents were reprinted in the "Dilo", the Ukrainian nationalist daily, of Lviv.—Ed.).

## 4.

## HOW POLISH COURTS TRY AND CONDEMN.

## (a)

*THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR A CIRCULAR OF THE  
UKRAINIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION.*

Julian Hoshovsky, student of the Commercial Academy, resident of Berezhnytsya near Stry, was tried, on November 10, before a jury and the tribunal of the court in Lviv, presided by Mr. Jagodzinski.

Hoshovsky was arrested by a policeman on April 19. The policeman alleged that he found in Hoshovsky's possession some circulars. During a search at Hoshovsky's home nothing (incriminating) was found. The public prosecutor charged Hoshovsky with high treason and disturbance of public peace. The accused had been already convicted on a previous occasion, in a political trial, to ten months' imprisonment.

On the ground of the verdict of the jury, who confirmed all the questions put to them, Hoshovsky was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

(*"Dilo,"* Ukrainian daily, Lviv, November 12, 1930).

*(This is a conviction of a Ukrainian, who was not a student of a Ukrainian school, there being no higher Ukrainian school on the entire Ukrainian territory under Poland.*

*The conviction followed the testimony of one man. That was enough to convince the jury of the defendant's guilt and to send him to jail for three years.—Ed.)*

## (b)

## FROM THE COURT ROOM

## POLITICAL TRIALS IN PEREMYSHL

With the conclusion of elections to the Sejm and Senate, there have been started a series of criminal trials against the Ukrainians who had been arrested in connection with the elections, and this is a long time before the election day. The trials reveal the complete baselessness of the police arrests, as a result of which the Ukrainians detained in jails under the pretext that the prevention of crimes demanded this, were deprived of their ballot.

Thus on December 5, 1930, Ivan Berko, of Zabolotsi, district of Radymno, was tried by the district court at Peremyshl for the

crime of violating the Sect. 3, of the decree of the President of the Polish Republic, dated November 12, 1930, No. 64, which was supposed to have committed by alleged negative and false criticism of the list No. 1, (the list of the pro-government party B. B.—Ed.) uttered "with the purpose of influencing the electors in a stealthy manner." The trial proved the defendant's full innocence and he was released.

On December 12, 1930, the trial of Danko Drapala, of Chudovytchi, near Porokhnyk, already adjourned twice, was held. The defendant was indicted for the same crime. He had been detained for six weeks for the purpose of investigation. The trial ended with a complete acquittal of the accused.

### POLITICAL TRIALS IN SAMBIR

On December 16, 1930, there began before the jury of the district court of Sambir a series of criminal political trials.

The first day was fixed for the trial of Ivan Dankivsky, ex-pupil of the teachers' college, of Bykiv; Paul Semkiv, a farmer; and Elias Ilichka, a farmer. The three were charged in the indictment act that they had joined in 1930, the Ukrainian Military Organization, that they distributed the "Surma" (The Clarion) in this manner that Dankivsky passed it to Semkiv, and Semkiv to Ilichka. In this manner they perpetrated the crime of the Sections 58 and 59 of the Criminal Code (high treason,—Ed.).

Both the president of the tribunal and the members of the jury at the very outset of examination, expressed their dissatisfaction because the defendants were making their depositions in Ukrainian, as is their right.

The entire testimony presented at the trial gave no proofs that the accused had at any time joined the Ukrainian Military Organization. There were against them only their own statements, which they revoked completely at the trial, to the effect that Dankivsky handed over to Semkiv, one copy of the "Surma", which was found later during a search in Semkiv's possession. Besides, in the possession of Ilichka there was found a written copy of "The Ten Commandments of the Nationalist". This was the basis of conviction of the three defendants for the felony of high treason and sentencing the first two defendants to four years' imprisonment, and the third one to two years of imprisonment.

"Dilo", Lviv, December 25, 1930.



(5)

## POLISH GOVERNMENT EXECUTES WITHOUT TRIAL.

*SHOT "WHILE TRYING TO ESCAPE"...*

At the public prosecutor's order, Julian Holovinsky, the commandant of the Ukrainian Military Organization, suspected of the organization of the attempted attack on post office truck in July, 1930, was confronted in Bibrka today with the witnesses of the incident and other persons who could identify the perpetrators. As Holovinsky was returning to the railroad station at Hlibovychi, he took advantage of the fact that one of the policemen escorting him stopped, struck with his fist another policeman and tried to run away. The other policeman went after him in pursuit and fired after Holovinsky six times; one of the bullets struck Holovinsky in the head and killed him on the spot. The body was detained for the medical autopsy.

*"Dilo,"* Lviv, October 2, 1930.

## OBITUARY.

*JULIAN HOLOVINSKY.*

The late captain of the Ukrainian Galician Army, was born on December 1, 1894, in Radymno, near the city of Peremyshl. He graduated from the Gymnasium at Peremyshl. He served during the world war in the 30th regiment of the Austrian infantry on the Italian front, where he won for his bravery many military decorations and the rank of lieutenant. After the fall of Austria, he returned to Lubeliv, where his mother lived. He commanded later the Sixth brigade in the Ukrainian Galician Army. This brigade, after the victory over the Bolsheviks, was the first to march into Kiev, on August 30, 1919. When the decomated detachments of the army had been forced to unite with the Bolsheviks, he continued to act as a commandant of a corps but he came to dislike them and tried to break through to insurgents. In this he failed, and after long sufferings, due to typhus and hunger, he fell with the remnants of the army into the hands of the Poles as a prisoner.

He became acquainted with the misery of the prisoners' camp at Frydryhowka and Jazlowiec, and found himself in the end in detention camps in Josefov, in Bohemia, and in Brno, in

Moravia. Here he studied veterinary. Having graduated he returned to his native land, but failing to have his diplomas recognized, he acted as a commissary merchant. He married in 1926. In the same year he was arrested in connection with the assassination of Curator Sobinski, but was released after 14 months' imprisonment. He bought a taxi business in Chesaniv, where he worked to the very month of July of 1930. In that month he made preparations to move to Peremyshl. On September 20, he was arrested, and ten days later he died a tragic death on the highway between Hlibovychi and Bibrka.

He was buried on the cemetery in Hlibovychi in the presence of his wife, two daughters and a brother. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Bobovyk.

(*"Dilo,"* October 5, 1930).

#### A POLICEMAN SLAYS A GYMNASIUM PUPIL.

It is reported from the city of Zalishechyky that policeman Joseph Wacyk arrested in Zalishechyky Michael Bodnar, pupil of the VII grade of Gymnasium, on the charge of sabotage. As the policeman was arresting Bodnar, he, it is alleged, snatched the revolver from the policeman's hand; another policeman, however, disarmed Bodnar. Bodnar is alleged to have confessed his part in the arsons in the district of Borshchiv. When Bodnar was taken to the prison in Zalishechyky, he tried to escape. Policeman Wacyk fired and killed him. The body was taken to the morgue at Bobrivlany.

(*"Novy Chas,"* Ukrainian triweekly, Lviv, October 1, 1930).

*(I refrain from taking a sample of vulgar campaign of abuse into which the Polish press indulged on the death of Holovinsky and by which that press attempted to justify the Polish police in killing the dangerous man. It never made that press think for a moment to give the benefit of doubt to the dead man who had not been tried yet and who could not defend himself.)*

*The Ukrainian public refused to believe the story of his attempted escape. The man was shackled, was in the region with which he was not familiar, the time and other circumstances were so much against him not even a most desperate man could think of having any chance of escaping.*

*The Ukrainian public knew that the phrase "killed while trying to escape" was a familiar one with the gendarmes of Tsarist Russia. It was the usual method of dealing with troublesome revolutionists. The Polish administration, composed as it is of the remnants of the three administrations of the respective sections of reconstructed Poland, is divided among*

themselves by a keen competition. The Polish public talks a great deal about the differences between the Poles from the Polish Kingdom, those from Galicia, and those from Prussia. The Polish press writes of it occasionally, and even the correspondent of the London Times was told of it. Just as each of these groups remembers most vividly the manner in which it was treated by the government of the empire whose subject that section of Poland was, so each strives to prove its efficiency primarily by its methods of ruling the subjugated races of Poland. As each remembers most vividly the highbanded method of government, so each tries to copy those methods in its practical administration. Considering the other two forms of government inferior to its own, each practices its own form with morbid thoroughness. Thus the non-Polish races of Poland have now the opportunity to observe on themselves the workings of the worst features of the administrative systems of old Prussia, Austria and Russia. With Marshal Pilsudski in the rôle of actual dictator of Poland, the supremacy seems to be with the Poles of the Polish Kingdom, and with their system bequeathed by Tsarist Russia.

The grave suspicions of the Ukrainians as to the circumstances of Holovynsky's death cannot be brought to a public trial. The only two methods possible to accomplish it would be to sue in the criminal court the policemen involved in the slaying of the man or to sue them civilly for the damages sustained by the family. The former is impossible as the Polish public prosecutor dictates who should be prosecuted, the latter, though apparently possible under the Polish constitution, is made impossible by the interpretation of the Polish laws by the Polish courts, of which the reader had opportunity to learn in the action of the Ukrainian institution of Horodenka for the ascertainment of damages, preliminary to a suit for damages.

An open discussion of the evidence in the press is made impossible by the Polish censorship.

Is such a suppression of what must be admitted to be at least grave doubts a sound administrative policy? Is this a sensible method of ruling the people? Do such methods contribute to the pacification of the populace?—Ed.)

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#### XXXIV.

#### POLISH PARLIAMENT AND "PACIFICATION."

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(The struggle of the Ukrainians to save themselves against the physical wholesale assault of the Polish government and public against their race has taken us so far through several successive stages. Roughly, they were

*divided into an appeal to the administration authorities and to the courts. The methods by which the Polish government thwarted those efforts were depicted.*

*The efforts so far portrayed have not exhausted yet fully the number of legal methods. There still remains another branch of the government to which an appeal could be made in every democratic nation. This is the legislative branch of the government.*

*According to the customs of legislative procedure, well established in all truly democratic nations, the parliament can furnish various remedies for the grievances of citizens. It may pass a law prohibiting certain practices. It may condemn the government of a special department for the violation of laws. It may start an investigation of abuses. A common introduction to such remedies is the so-called interpellation, by which a deputy asks the government or a minister what is known to him about certain facts and if he does know about them how he excuses them. The cabinet of the ministers or the particular minister "interpellated" replies, which is followed by a debate, in which take part not only those who asked the question, but also other members of the house. The matter usually ends with the vote of confidence to the cabinet or the minister.*

*Any of these remedies, if successful, supply already a certain remedy to those who feel wronged. Even if the cabinet or the minister questioned has not received a vote of lack of confidence, still the very danger of it works towards mitigating the policy objected to.*

*The Ukrainians naturally could not neglect so important a remedy. They appealed for it to the Polish Sejm. What kind of remedy they asked, how they supported their request, how they were treated,—this is the topic of this chapter. The topic is treated only as far as a full understanding of the subject requires, and not further.*

*The relation between the Polish atrocities in Ukraine and the Polish election of 1930, must also be touched upon. These elections were marked by gross abuses on the part of the Polish government itself. The victims of the abuses were not only the Ukrainians and other non-Polish races (White Russians, Lithuanians, Jews, Germans) but also the Poles themselves. It is now claimed in some sections of the Polish public that the so-called pacification of Ukraine was merely an item in the parliamentary game of the Polish dictatorship, which is an effort to terrorize Ukrainian voters into voting for the government or at least into keeping away from the polls. On the other hand, says Mr. Ernest Lilian, the Ukrainians, though admitting that the Polish government oppresses some classes opposed to the class represented by the Government, still feel that they are persecuted also explicitly for their race, for being Ukrainians. In other words, all that the Polish government demands of the Poles of the Opposition is that they should*



*cease to oppose the Government, while the Ukrainians are considered an Opposition as long as they consider themselves Ukrainians.*

*This is the same controversy which was stated already at previous occasions. Now we look into the Polish Parliament to see what light can the Polish legislature throw upon the problem of the so-called pacification of Ukraine.—Ed.)*

## 1.

### TWO VIEWS STATED

#### a

Mr. Ernest Lilian, a Detroitier of Polish descent, wrote to the "Detroit News", a letter to protest against the Ukrainian charges voiced at a mass protest meeting of Detroit Ukrainians to the effect that "the beating of Ukrainian men, women and children by Polish troops, the suppression of Ukrainian culture, the shutting down of Ukrainian schools and many similar acts were aimed at the annihilation by the Polish government of the Ukrainian nationality". Mr. Lilian said in that letter, published by the "Detroit News", on November 19, 1930:

"Were I a Polish patriot in the conventional sense, I should have denied all these charges as the inventions of German and Bolshevik propagandists," Mr. Lilian said. "But I am not going to do it. While I have not been in Poland for 15 years, I have followed closely events in my country and I know that there is a considerable element of truth in these charges.

"But the charges themselves are exaggerated. Not only is the number of persons killed, whipped or arrested grossly overestimated, but the very motives for these crimes—for which, I insist, there is no excuse—are misrepresented.

"Ukrainian spokesmen would have us believe that the punitive expeditions are directed wholly against Ukrainians; that their sole purpose is to wipe out the Ukrainian nationality. This is not so. While the government arrested 16 Ukrainian deputies to the Polish Sejm, or parliament, it also arrested 64 Polish deputies.

"The terrorism of Pilsudski has been directed against his political opposition, Poles as well as Ukrainians, and there is no motive in it of suppression of national minority groups.

"The Polish foreign minister, Zaleski, recently declared that all the arrests of the Ukrainians were legitimate. Perhaps they were in accordance with legal law, but I doubt their accordance with moral law.

"The trouble with the government of the country of my birth is that it has absorbed too much of the Bismarckian spirit of 'Macht vor Recht,' or, as you call it in English, 'Might is Right.' Twelve years ago the Poles were one of the most liberty loving people in the world. Today, Pilsudski's place among the world's statesmen is somewhere alongside of Mussolini, and the policies of these two are a menace to world peace."

## b

The Special Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian", wrote in "The Manchester Guardian Weekly", of July 4, 1930, in one of the articles giving the results of his tour in Poland:

## THE DICTATORSHIP

If history teaches anything at all it is that the oppressed become the oppressors. The Poles have achieved national freedom, but national freedom is not the same thing as individual freedom, and it does not follow that because Poland is free all Poles are free and that only Germans, Jews, White Russians, and Ukrainians are oppressed. THE STRUGGLE OF THE "NATIONAL MINORITIES" IS BOUND UP WITH THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN POLAND, AND THE DICTATORSHIP IS THE MEANS BY WHICH THE POLISH GOVERNING CLASS ENDEAVOURS TO CRUSH BOTH SOCIAL AND NATIONAL REVOLUTION, JUST AS TSARISM TRIED TO CRUSH THE REVOLT OF THE RUSSIAN WORKMEN AND PEASANTS AS WELL AS OF THE POLES AND THE FINNS.

Any objective account of the Dictatorship must inevitably read like an indictment. But there is no help for this. At the same time it is always well to remember the immense difficulty of building up a new State after war, famine, and revolution. To have made Poland a great power in ten years is an immense achievement. It is also well to remember that England is a favoured country—that for centuries she has not been invaded (Poland has been invaded and reinvaded and laid waste again and again within recent memory), that for centuries she has known neither famine, civil war, nor revolution, and that, although highly vulnerable, she is spared the sense of immediate insecurity given by open land frontiers. If England had a past like Poland's, and if she were wedged in between the Germans and the Bolsheviks, and if she had several Sinn Féin Irelands at home, she would not be the peaceful country she is now.

It is Poland's misfortune that most of her territory was part of Tsarist Russia. Her civilization is made up of three civilizations—the Russian, the German, and the Austrian,—and it is the lowest of the three that has prevailed. The Polish Dictatorship is Tsarist in character. The "Sejm," or Parliament, has little more power than the old Duma, and the Polish Constitution has little more reality than the Constitution that was gradually wilted away after having been conceded by the Tsarist Government under pressure from the revolutionary upheaval of 1905.

In Soviet Russia the old "Ochрана" was replaced by Tcheka. In Poland it has been replaced by the "Defensive."

The "Defensive" is more than an intelligence service, more than a political police. Members of the Government either belong to it or are approved by it. No one is safe from its interference. It spies everywhere and shadows everyone who is at all suspect or at all important. It pries into the most intimate personal affairs, and will bring pressure to bear on any person by threatening to reveal secrets of his private life. It is a national system of spying, blackmail, and terrorization.

Polish elections are not a fair and equal fight between the different parties. The Radical Opposition are so handicapped by the "Defensive," the police, and the bureaucracy that it is a wonder they can do as well as they do. Their can-

didates are arrested, their meetings broken up, their newspapers are censored or confiscated, their "lists" (Poland has an advanced system of proportional representation) are declared invalid on all kinds of false pretences. Sometimes even the totals of actual returns are falsified.

The "making" of an election can, of course, be overdone, and this is one of the difficulties of the Government. To abandon all pretence and proclaim a nude Dictatorship would mean that the Sejm could no longer be made a scapegoat for every failure—Marshal Pilsudski would have nothing left on which to unload those terrific denunciations (crammed, incidently with ordure and obscenity unprintable in any newspaper of Western Europe) that come from his pen from time to time and are published in full by the Polish Government press. At the same time it is generally admitted that the Government has lost most of its popularity and that free elections would mean its sure defeat. They would have to be "made," as they have been before, only much more drastically. But it is widely believed that if this were done there would be disorders and risings. So the Dictatorship drifts along without any policy or any conscious aim.

In the towns the Radical Opposition has taken the form of Communism and in the country of Radical or semi-Communist peasant parties. With the exception of Bulgaria Poland is the only country in Europe with a Radical peasant movement. The Communist party is illegal. All its papers are suppressed, all its meetings broken up. Merely to be a Polish Communist is to live in danger of being sent to prison for six years, besides being tortured. And yet the Communist movement is probably more of a mass movement in Poland than in any other country except Russia. It is rooted in poverty and oppression. The Dictatorship, by creating suspicion and political insecurity, is destructive of confidence and therefore deeply injurious to trade and credit. It helps to perpetuate poverty, and being by its own nature oppressive it makes the Communist movement grow rather than diminish. Like Tsarism, it is therefore helping on the very revolution it exists to avert. The Radical peasant movements in Poland are still rather primitive, but anyone who will pay a visit to some of the poorer villages will see that they have a grim reality and will see men who have the making of Wat Tylers or Jack Cades.

Besides the very efficient Polish army, the police (who are a kind of armed constabulary), and the "Defensive," the Dictatorship has a special instrument in the so-called "Colonizers." Like the Hungarian "Vitez," the "Colonizer" is a former soldier who receives a piece of land and arms from the Government. In exchange he is expected to be available whenever there is any sign of labour trouble, unrest, or revolt in the country districts. The task of the "Colonizers" has some analogies with that of the Cossacks in the old Russia, but in a general way they could be described as a kind of rural Praetorian Guard.

Affrays in the villages (often arising out of wage disputes) are very common. Peasants are often killed or wounded, arrests are made almost every day, and the treatment of those arrested is often very terrible, although in fairness to Poland it must be added that the torture of political prisoners is taken for granted throughout all Eastern Europe. The commonest form of torture is by beating, but the "water torture" (as it used to be called by the Americans in the Philippines) is also known. "Intellectuals" are tortured less nowadays because they are better able to get redress or publicity than workmen or peasants. But when the Polish police catch some illiterate White Russian or Volhynian peasant whom they suspect of Radicalism and having accomplices, then the chances are that he will be so beaten that his own mother would not recognize him afterwards.

*(The italics are mine.*

*Though the specific aim of the "Guardian's" correspondent is not to discuss this question, still whatever he says on the relation of the Polish government towards the Ukrainians would not be accepted by an average Pole. Even men from the Polish Opposition would protest against the "Guardian's" comparison of the position of the Ukrainians in Poland to that of the Poles under Tsarist Russia.—Ed.)*

## 2.

### OPPOSITION LEADERS ARRESTED.

#### (a)

#### POLISH DEPUTIES ARRESTED PILSUDSKI UNMASKED

(From our Berlin Correspondent)

Marshal Pilsudski has hit out at last. There has been some surprise that he has not yet scrapped the Polish Constitution (so far he has only called it names like putrid carrion or slut whom he would have kicked out of doors if he had not been otherwise engaged). Now that Parliament is dissolved deputies are no longer deputies, and have therefore lost their immunity, so that they can be arrested. Pilsudski, acting through the Ministry of the Interior, has had nine of the best-known Opposition leaders arrested.

Some of the arrested men are amongst the most popular of Polish politicians. Nor do they all belong to the Left. The old Peasant leader M. Witos is amongst them. The Socialist leader M. Daszynski has not been molested so far, but he has been refused a permit to leave the country (he was about to take a cure at Karlsbad) so that Marshal Pilsudski may keep an eye on him.

#### TERRORISTIC PRESSURE

Those who feared that the Polish election campaign would be held under terroristic pressure from the Dictatorship are now proved right, for these arrests are the Government's first move in the campaign itself, and are typical terroristic methods. Nor are they the only arrests being made. Members of the Polish Communist party and of the Left-wing Radical Peasant parties are being arrested in great numbers. Many arrests are being made in the Ukraine, where the resistance is hardening and where retaliatory methods are growing more and more common.

Recent events in Poland should be enough to destroy any illusions that Poland is a democracy or that Marshal Pilsudski has any ultimate resources other than of violence. Nor can there be



any doubt left as to his growing unpopularity, for were he still as popular as he was a few years ago he would not fear the verdict of the Polish people. It is the certainty of defeat in a free election campaign by an attack on this freedom.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly, Friday, September 12, 1930.

(b)

### SOCIALIST LEADER ARRESTED IN POLAND PILSUDSKI WARNS SEJM

Wireless to The New York Times

WARSAW, Oct. 4.—Another former Deputy and Socialist leader, Jan Kwapinski, was arrested early this morning, charged with having made a speech against the government while a member of Parliament. M. Kwapinski is the president of the Polish Federation of Labor Agricultural Workers' Union.

Arrests of Opposition leaders appear to have been abandoned by the government, although now and then some Opposition leader is sent to prison. This may last until the elections are held. In the meantime, the round-up and arrest of Ukrainian Deputies continues apace.

The Polish pro-government Sunday newspapers' newest feature, Marshal Pilsudski's weekly interview, will have serious competition tomorrow in the Opposition press, which will print a letter from President Daszynski of the Sejm to President Mosciki, if the censorship does not suppress it.

Marshal Pilsudski talks again of the budget, warning the future Sejm he will not permit it to sit beyond the budget necessities. The budget is the only thing for the Parliament to work upon, but it takes some time in committees, so the marshal must invent something for the Parliament to keep busy with in the meantime.

In the next budget, Marshal Pilsudski will introduce his own new methods, leaving the departments ample room to move within the figures allotted. He has done this against the advice of his Ministers but is convinced his method will prove right and useful and that the other Ministers eventually will adopt his view.

The marshal concluded his interview by saying the next Sejm will do well not to reject his budget and methods.

M. Daszynski's letter is less cheerful. The Sejm leader draws a gloomy picture of Poland's political and economic situation. He complains of lawlessness, violation of the Constitution, destruction of social organizations and misconduct of the country's economic affairs. He throws upon Marshal Pilsudski the blame for the

delay in changing the Constitution in the last Sejm and sees the elections as the only peaceful way out of the internal struggle, if the elections be clean and honest.

Therefore he begs President Mosciki, as the country's constitutional head, to use all his legal and moral influence to see that the November elections shall be clean and free.

WARSAW, Oct. 4 (AP).—Sixteen Ukrainian Deputies, members of the former Diet, were arrested today.

The New York Times, Sunday, Oct. 5, 1930.

(c)

THE EX-DEPUTY, VERY REV. KUNYTSKY, CANON OF  
BISHOP'S CHAPTER, AND EX-DEPUTY DR. LADYKA  
ARRESTED IN TARNOPOL

On Tuesday, September 30, 1930, the

Very Reverend Leontius Kunytsky, the ex-deputy to the Polish Sejm, and the Canon of the Archbishop's chapter, came on Tuesday, September 30, 1930, by an express train from Lviv to Tarnopol to hold a conference with the voyvoda of province of Tarnopol on punitive expeditions on the territory of that province. Within half an hour after his arrival to the city, Rev. Kunytsky was already received by Voyvoda Moszynski. The conference lasted two and a half hours, namely from 3:15 till 4:45. Besides the Voyvoda, it was attended by Zyborski, the chief of the department of safety.

Very Rev. Kunytsky protested most strongly against charging the present arsons of stacks to any of the Ukrainian national legalized parties and against the application of the principle of collective responsibility for the acts of perpetrators and against all the notorious events in villages. He asked the voyvoda for permission to go into the district of Zbarazh to appease the populace and asked for a special letter lest he be interfered with by the local police or be arrested by them.

The voyvoda replied that all the Ukrainian people are responsible for the sabotages, since they create a favorable atmosphere for the sabotages.

Very Rev. Kunytsky remained in Tarnopol, taking his lodgings with the ex-deputy Dr. Stephen Baran, intending to start, on October 1, by an afternoon train, for Zbarazh. On Wednesday in the morning he left Dr. Baran's lodgings and went to visit Rev. Volodymyr Gromnytsky, the local parson. On his way he was stopped by two police agents and was taken by them to the police headquarters in the City Hall, where he was subjected to a short

examination. At 12 o'clock a policeman called on Dr. Baran to demand Rev. Kunytsky's traveling bag. It was clear that Rev. Kunytsky was arrested.

At half past twelve a closed automobile came before the gate of the police headquarters, and after a few moments Rev. Kunytsky was led out of the courtyard by two police agents, placed into the automobile and driven away at once via Pilsudski, Kopernik and Tarnowski streets, in the direction of the railroad bridge. The destination of the automobile is unknown. There seems to be no doubt that Rev. Kunytsky was taken to Brest-on-the-Bug for political reasons, as an ex-deputy to the Sejm.

On the same day, at 8 o'clock in the morning police agents came to the law office of Dr. Dmytro Ladyka, the ex-deputy from the list of Ukrainian socialist-radicals, at Tarnopol, took him at once to the police headquarters and then to the investigation department of the court. The police made at once a search in his office. . . .

#### THE ARREST OF EX-DEPUTY DR. MICHAEL ZAKHIDNY

Dr. Michael Zakhidny, ex-deputy (of the Ukrainian Labor Party), was arrested in Berezhany on October 1. So far there have been arrested the following Ukrainian ex-deputies to the Polish sejm: 1, Very Rev. L. Kunytsky; 2, Volodymyr Tselevych; 3, Dm. Paliyiv; 4, Dr. S. Baran; 5, Ivan Lishchynsky; 6, Stephen Kuzyk; 7, Ivan Zavalykut; 8, Antony Kunko; 9, Alexander Vyslot-sky; 10, Alexander Yavorsky; 11, Antony Maksymovych, — all members of the UNDO (The Ukrainian National Democratic Union); 12, Dr. Dm. Ladyka; 13, Dr. Osyp Kohut,—both socialist-radicals; 14, Paul Vasylchuk (Village-Union); 15, ex-senator Serhy Kozytsky (ex-member of the "Selrob's" right wing); 16, Dr. Michael Zakhidny (Ukrainian Labor Party).

"Dilo", Lviv, October 4, 1930.

*(Though in certain sections of the document, the Ukrainians are placed on equal footing with the Polish Opposition, still the document at once passes to special measures to be used against the Ukrainians only. Pogrom attacks against organizations and the "pacification" are surely measures which no Pole would advise to be used against Polish organizations.—Ed.)*

(d)

#### ARRESTS OF EX-DEPUTIES

Ex-deputy Radwan, of the Polish Peasant Party, was arrested in Lashchev, district of Tomashiv. He is charged with propagat-

ing hatred of one social class to another (Sect. 122 and 129, of the Penal Code).

Besides him there were arrested also ex-deputies Czapski and Markowski, of the same party.

"Dilo", Lviv, October 9, 1930.

*(Outwardly the Ukrainian and the Polish Deputies are treated in the same manner. They are arrested, imprisoned, made into criminals awaiting trial, on various trumped up charges.*

*Inwardly, however, even here a difference between the treatment of the Polish and that of the Ukrainian deputies can be seen: while the Poles are charged with misdemeanors, the highest punishment for which is several years of imprisonment, the Ukrainian deputies are charged with one of the most serious felonies, high treason, for which severest punishments are the rule.*

*This agrees with the general policy of the Polish government of scaring their own public into hysteric fears under the influence of which they would rally to the government no matter of what acts the government may be guilty of.—Ed.)*

(e)

#### REPRESSION IN POLAND 80 POLITICIANS IN PRISON

(From our Special Correspondent.)

Warsaw, Wednesday.

Some eighty members of the last Polish Parliament have been imprisoned, forty of them in the fortress of Brest Litovsk. These prisoners belong to parties that together represent the majority of the Polish people. Amongst them are many distinguished politicians—for example, Witos, who was three times Premier of Poland, and Korfanty, who more than any other man secured the great industrial area of Eastern Silesia for Poland.

The prisoners are completely cut off from the outside world. Neither their families nor their counsel are allowed to communicate with them, nor are they allowed to write or receive letters. Their fate is wrapped in mystery, and almost every day there is a new popular legend about them. It is said that they are cold, hungry, and verminous. It is also said that they have been tortured, though this would seem unlikely, for although torture is common in Poland, it is done, not in prisons, but in the police cells. But it is this very ignorance of what is really happening, this atmosphere of mystery, that causes the friends and families of the prisoners to fear the worst.



## A PRISONER AND HIS WIFE

And the very few facts that are known do not diminish their fears. These scanty facts are as follows. An exception was made in favour of one of the prisoners, Dubois, a member of the Polish Socialist party. His wife lay between life and death after an operation, and he was allowed to see her. He was transferred to a prison here in Warsaw for one week, and during that week he was twice escorted to her bedside by two officials, who remained close by him the whole time. He looked terribly ill—pale, drawn, and haggard. His wife was just able to ask him a few questions. His answers were brief and non-committal, and seldom more than yes or no. He had always been a rather fiery and voluble person, so that there was something particularly ominous about his manner of answering.

But in spite of this tragic interview Dubois recovered his strength during the week he spent in the Warsaw prison, although Warsaw prisons are not very healthy places. Another curious fact is that three of the prisoners have signed statements that they will not stand at the elections. Their friends cannot believe that these statements were signed voluntarily. Were they signed under threats or something worse than threats? Nobody knows. One of the three is the Socialist Liebermann, who is 64 and has been in politics for more than 30 years.

## PILSUDSKI'S RESPONSIBILITY

The Commandant of the prison at Brest-Litovsk is Kostek Biernatski, who was chief of the "battle police"—that is to say, the military police who were posted behind the front to shoot down deserters or drive them back into the line during the war of 1920. But the responsibility for the arrest and for the treatment of the prisoners lies with Marshal Pilsudski. It is said that a prisoner cannot have a comb or a toothbrush without the Marshal's permission.

Officially the eighty prisoners were arrested on criminal charges, and are not political prisoners at all. If that is so, then there are three things that seem rather strange: (1) that a fifth of the members of the last Polish Parliament (there were 440 in all) should have been criminals; (2) that their alleged offences happened to be discovered just before the general election; and (3) that all these prisoners belong to the Opposition.

The Manchester Guardian, November 13, 1930.

(f)

DEPUTIES TORTURED, SAYS POLISH PAPER  
DICTATOR'S POLITICAL FOES WERE STARVED,  
HUMILIATED AND TERRIFIED, AUTHOR ASSERTS  
TAKEN TO DEATH CHAMBER  
THERE THEY WERE FORCED TO STRIP, LINE UP  
AGAINST WALL AND BULLET WAS FIRED  
OVER THEIR HEADS

Special Cable to The New York Times

WARSAW, Dec. 8.—An accusation that Deputies who were imprisoned at Brest Litovsk for political reasons were starved and ill-treated was made today in an article in Robotnik by one of Poland's best writers, Andreas Strug, an author of outstanding merit, a former member of Marshal Pilsudski's legion, a former Senator and the head of the Polish Masons. He cannot freely express his indignation, he says, for he wants his expose to pass the censor.

M. Strug asserts that "all of the prisoners were systematically starved for two months and then received food which was deliberately nauseating and inedible and only one-third of the military bread ration. Most of the prisoners chewed the straw of their mattresses in the agony of their hunger. Not until Nov. 8, a fortnight before they were released, did they receive normal military rations. Nearly all of them underwent the torture of beating, and to some a quite elaborate system of horrible tortures was applied.

"They went through the horror of being taken to the execution chamber at midnight, where they were forced to undress and, naked, with their face to the wall, await death.

"Then suddenly a shot was fired and a bullet struck the wall just above their heads. All were slapped in their faces and lived in a constant atmosphere of derision and humiliation. Their lives, health and human dignity were in the hands of several officers of different regiments of the Polish Army, and their destinies in the hands of the Minister of Justice and the special investigating judge. I do not mention any names."

M. Strug concludes:

"I will not indicate those who are guilty, but I hope the whole truth will be revealed and that none of the offenders will escape punishment."

The article, of course, was suppressed and copies of the newspaper were seized, but all Warsaw is talking of the terrible regime at Brest Litovsk.

The prisoners, against whom there was merely the unimportant charge of making anti-government speeches, are said to have been treated at Brest Litovsk as military convicts and the harsh regime of a Polish military prison was applied to them. They are said to have been compelled to salute officers, obliged to report every morning, clean their cells themselves and to wash refuse pails.

No newspaper or book was given to them except Marshal Pilsudski's writings. Everything sent to the prison by families of the Deputies, although it already had been passed by the investigating judge, was held up by the officers in charge of the prison and never reached the prisoners, it is asserted.

The New York Times, Tuesday, December 9, 1930.

(g)

PILSUDSKI'S TACTICS  
WHY DICTATORSHIP IS NOT OPEN: FOREIGN CAPITAL  
CREATING APPEARANCE OF STABILITY

(From our Special Correspondent)

Warsaw, Thursday.

Whoever studies the extraordinary manner in which the Polish election campaign is being run naturally asks "Why does not Pilsudski proclaim a naked dictatorship?" It would be less expensive and less hypocritical. It would be much simpler and probably less inhuman. (Even in Italy there has been nothing comparable with what has just happened in the Ukraine.)

There are several reasons why the Polish Dictatorship continues to wear a few democratic shreds and tatters that are no substitute for real clothing and no concealment of indecency. Dead generations of Poles fought heroically to have a Constitution, and even Pilsudski, who is vitriolic in his abuse of the present Polish Constitution, does not repudiate Constitutions in the abstract, and will very likely produce a reformed Constitution before long.

Besides, a naked dictatorship would probably help to unite the Opposition, which is now so impotent precisely because it is disunited. But there is another reason. The Dictatorship wishes to convince the world, and especially England and America, that it is no dictatorship, and that its rags are really a dress suit; that Poland is governed constitutionally and democratically, and that the Polish Government is highly popular and very stable because

it has the majority of the Polish people behind it. This is one reason—perhaps the chief reason—why the Polish Government is making such a prodigious effort to win the elections.

The Polish Minister of Agriculture, Janta Polczynski, said in a speech at Thorn on the 8th of this month that foreign capital “will come to Poland after November 16, and only then. Foreign capitalists tell us ‘We are waiting until Poland has a strong and stable Government.’”

It is therefore of real importance that there should be no mistake in England and America about the true character of the Polish elections.

The Manchester Guardian, November 15, 1930.

### 3.

#### ONE MORE METHOD OF ELECTION TERROR.

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#### “AN UNHEARD OF DOCUMENT OF OUR TIMES.”

*“Lwowski Kurjer Poranny,” a Polish daily of Lwiv (Lemberg), published in its issue No. 338 of November 12, 1930, under the above heading the following instructions from Mr. Justyn Dworski, the leader of the district committee of the Polish pro-government party (the so-called B.B.) which was sent out secretly to all confidential election workers of the pro-government party in the villages of the district of Chortkiv and adjoining districts.*

#### I N S T R U C T I O N S !

#### IN THE MATTER OF MEETINGS AND AGITATION OF “CENTROLEW” AND UKRAINIANS.

*Strictly confidential.*

In order to instruct the local Committee of B.B. about the methods of repressing the agitation of the so-called Centrolew, that is the united parties of National Democrats, the “Piast Party” and the Polish Peasant Party, as well as of the Ukrainians, I am bringing to your attention these instructions so that you may direct yourselves, when necessary, according to these suggestions.

It became known to me, that within the next few days the so-called “Centrolew” and the Ukrainians, being the opposition groups, would start their election campaign in this district with the aid of the confident members of their respective groups as well as through the cooperative organizations subject to their



influence. According to information gathered, each group will in the evenings hold secret meetings in private homes, or, as in the case of the Ukrainians, in cooperative stores, masking their meetings with educational and cooperative-economic purposes in order to mislead the watchfulness of our government group.

We therefore inform you that no intended meeting of the Centrolew or of the Ukrainians should be held. Should, as a result of an oversight or misled watchfulness on the part of our people, a large number of persons come together for a conference, such a meeting should be prevented by an intentional dispatch of our confident persons. With this purpose in view all the known workers of the opposition should be subjected to a careful observation. They should be shadowed every step, even in an arrogant manner, in order that they be prevented from any campaigning or communication with the people. At the same time, with the assistance of the local branch of the Polish war veterans careful attention should be paid to the local workers of the Ukrainians and the Centrolew so that their every step may be known to us and that those workers may feel halted in their intentions.

Particular attention should be paid to outsiders; the arrival of any outsider to the village, be it to the local workers of Centrolew or to the cooperatives or the reading circle of the Ukrainian "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), should at once, by the quickest means available, be reported to the local headquarters of the Polish state police or to the district bureau of the B.B. at Chortkiv. This task would be best accomplished by him who would succeed in reporting to me several days or hours before the arrival of such a gentleman so that his campaigning may be prevented by me at once.

It is also advisable, by all means, to confiscate all handbills, pamphlets and newspapers sent to the opposition group, to deliver such literature to the district bureau of B.B. in Chortkiv, and to destroy all the posters of the Centrolew and the Ukrainians which might be put up about the villages.

At the same time, a search shall be instituted among the Ukrainians for fire-arms or anti-government literature and the results of such searches secretly reported to the police. I again emphasize that this work could best be done by the "Strzeley" (the Polish civilian military organization), the more so as they serve as the village night watchmen (as is known to me).

I may also add that according to my information there will be held in the nearest future on the territory of this district,

military exercises, at which occasion there will be carried out in the Ukrainian villages guilty of anti-governmental activities, a most severe pacification primarily directed against the Ukrainian cooperatives and reading circles of "Prosvita" as the seats of such anti-governmental activities, as well as against their members, and at which occasion all the rigors usually used in such cases will be applied.

Local Ukrainian leaders and priests should be warned of this information in a confidential and discrete manner.

(Signed) *Justyn Dworski*, the district leader of the campaign bureau of B. B.

*(When the above document was reprinted by the "Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, of Lviv, No. 253, the "Slowo Polskie", a Polish pro-government daily of the same city, came out with an illuminating article. The "Slowo Polskie" does not publish any denial of the authenticity of the document. It evidently does not doubt in the least that the document is genuine or that it was sent out; or that it should have been sent out. It sees no fault with the president of the election committee of the pro-government party B.B. of Chortkiv, who sent this circular, or with the committee, which resorted to such methods of electioneering. No, the only culprits in the matter were the editors of the "Lwowski Kuryer Poranny," who published the authentic circular. The "Slowo Polskie" expected that all the Poles would declare themselves to be in unison with the program of the circular since it is directed against the Ukrainians, which is equivalent to being beneficial to the Poles. On the basis of such reasoning the "Slowo Polskie" condemns the "Lwowski Kuryer Poranny" as an ally of the "Ukrainian separationists". The "Slowo Polskie" goes so far as to suggest to the editor of the "Lwowski Kuryer Poranny" that he file his candidacy to the Polish Sejm as a candidate of the Ukrainian party "UNDO."*

The above document points out the use to which the Polish governmental atrocities in Ukraine were put during the elections. Though the government claims that the "pacification" was an emergency measure called forth by the Ukrainian sabotages, here a man prominent in the politics of the government party quotes that so-called pacification as one of the efficient methods of that party to set the Ukrainian voters right in their political thinking.

Of course, though this was not the only purpose of the atrocities, this can not be passed over as a matter of no importance. Since the very date the Sejm's dissolution, the Polish government worked hard to prove to the voters that it was the only group capable of handling the difficult problems of the State. On the one hand, it played upon Polish fears of Germany and Russia; on the other hand, it played upon Polish fears of the non-

*Polish races within Poland's frontiers. Often those fears and suspicions were conveniently systematized, and the various non-Polish races in Poland became in the lurid writings of the "sanatory" party cogs in one great machinery of anti-Polish conspiracy.*

*The fact that the "pacification" was utilized in these ways to intimidate the Ukrainian voters into voting for the pro-government group, on the one hand, and for the purpose of rallying the Poles to Marshal Pilsudski, on the other, will be supported also by other documents in this collection.—Ed.)*

## 4.

## FRAUDS AS ELECTION METHODS.

EX-SPEAKER OF POLISH SEJM DESCRIBES  
ELECTION OF 1930.

Ignacy Daszynski, the leader of the Polish Social Democrats, the Speaker of the House of the Polish Sejm, 1928—1930, thus describes the Polish elections of 1930 in an article contributed to the "Robotnik":

## BADENI\*) WAS A SMALL MAN.

"After 30 years we read of those Badeni elections as a trifling matter. Indeed, Badeni had before him a mere handful of voters. In a whole electoral district they would number three or four hundred. Franchise was limited, not equal, and voting was public. Women did not vote. His difficulties were not great.

"But in this resurrected, independent, democratic Polish Republic, the voters number millions, balloting is secret, voting proportional, ballots being cast in favor of a numbered list, and judges sit as chairmen of voting commissions, etc. What progress has been made in 30 years by the free people! What a long stride!

"One hundred thousand officials of the State burning with desire to vote for the government, to vote openly!

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\* Kazimierz Badeni a Polish count, was Prime Minister of Austria, gained notoriety thru his high-handed management of the elections to the Austrian parliament in 1897. The elections passed into history as the "Badeni Elections". Government was harsh against peasantry and workers, but doubly harsh towards Ukrainians in Galicia, where the gendarmes bayoneted to death 8 persons, mortally wounded 29, and imprisoned 800. This Pole gave the Ukrainians a foretaste of what Poland would look like when she would gain her independence.

"40,000 policemen and God knows how many detectives answer the appeal!

"Innumerable dead people (in some cities whole crowds) figure in the register of voters — as an emergency!

"Thousands of articles are confiscated!

"Thousands of private houses are raided.

"Tens of thousands of campaign appeals and leaflets are confiscated, though passed by the censor.

"Thousands of election campaign meetings were prevented or happily broken.

"Popular newspapers were suppressed under the pretext that the ears of the families of tenants who live in the houses where the printing presses are situated would be affected!

"Indeed, Badeni was a small man!"

#### *THE POLISH GOVERNMENT GAGS POLITICAL OPPOSITION.*

As we reported on Monday, the release on bail will comprise a number of Brest prisoners.

In political circles there seems to be no doubt that the prisoners whose release was found possible will not in any way comment on their stay in prison, nor will take part in political activities; in fact, it seems certain that those of the released who were elected had resigned their seat in the Sejm.

"*Kurjer Warszawski*" (in Polish), Warsaw, November 27, 1930.

(Mr. Ignacy Daszynski has played an important role in the modern history of Poland. In Austria he had organized a strong Polish socialist party and was for years a deputy to the Austrian parliament. It was in this character as a socialist leader and socialist deputy that he came often to grips with the representatives of the Polish nobility, of whom Count Badeni was one. After the introduction of general suffrage in Austria, his power grew still more, but his old spirit of uncompromising opposition to every form of oppression weakened; under the pressure of the Polish press attacking him for his absence from the Polish Club in the Vienna Parliament, he came to overlook more and more the new phases of the Polish oppression of the Ukrainians.

In the reconstructed Polish State, he was prominent for the very fact of his close friendship with Marshal Pilsudski. After the friendship was dissolved, Daszynski's position remained so prominent that even the government would not dare to touch him.

Hence, his opinion of the Polish elections of 1930, has a special significance. The comparison to the old methods of semi-absolutistic Austria is telling, indeed. Each sentence of his article could be proved without diffi-



culty by quotations from the Polish pro-government press, who in these elections behaved with utter, simply cynical frankness. The Polish government, with equal cynicism, gave out a series of edicts and instructions, which are enough to condemn it for electoral frauds in any court. The Ukrainian press has printed quite a collection of those documents, which prove electoral frauds by the pro-government groups and the government itself beyond all doubts. The tabulation of the results of the election itself shows tremendous discrepancies: the local election boards, each acting under a government official, having counted the votes, proclaimed the result and then sent the report to a central district board, which added the local results and gave out one result for the district. These district results as published officially show not only that the district boards have manipulated the figures in favor of the pro-government list, but also how they were manipulated, how all the votes of a certain locality given to some opposition list were stolen in transit, how similar votes in another locality were in body transferred to the pro-government list. Such reports, being published openly in newspapers, were equal to a notification of the public prosecutor, who had to read the paper as a censor. Though the public prosecutor is in duty bound by his office to prosecute all such offenses coming to his knowledge, yet no prosecutions of the parties guilty of electoral frauds were started. Nor were the editors of the newspapers publishing them ever called to answer in courts for the libel of the officials counting the votes or tabulating the reports, nor were the editors even forced to publish retractions, as they would be by the press law, if such would have been sent to them. In short, the frauds were openly done, openly proved, and the Government did nothing about them.

The elections themselves, however, are not the topic of this book. For this reason such documents are omitted, in hope that they might be published in some work treating especially of the Polish administrative measures, and instead the above summary of the election methods coming from a prominent Polish politician is inserted.—Ed.)

### 5.

## FINAL RESULTS OF "POLISH" ELECTIONS.

### (a)

## THE POLISH PARTIES

(Reuter's Telegram)

Warsaw, Monday.

The final results of the election to the Diet show a decisive victory for the Government bloc led by Marshal Pilsudski which has obtained 248 seats out of the total of 444. The Opposition

groups of the Peasants' party and the Socialists have obtained 80, the Nationalists 64, the Christian Democrats 14, the Communists 4, Zionists 3, Orthodox Jews 4, Nationalist Minorities 6, and Ukrainians 21.

The Nationalists obtained 60 per cent of the seats that they held in the second and third Diets. The Communists, who presented lists of candidates in 20 districts, obtained only four seats, thus losing three of the seven that they held in the last Diet, one being lost in Warsaw and two in the coal-mining districts of Dombrowa. The national minorities have all lost ground—for example, the Germans, who previously held 19 seats, have now only retained five.

*(Commenting on the outcome of the election of the deputies to the Sejm, the "Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, November 21, 1930, says that out of the 21 seats won by the block of the Ukrainian parties, the seats would have to be divided so that 17 seats will fall to the "UNDO", 3 to the socialist-radicals, and one to the White Ruthenians; the Ukrainian social-democrats, who also belonged to the block, will have no representation.*

*The "Dilo" further observes that the Ukrainians would have no representatives outside those who were elected on the list of the Ukrainian Election Block. Polish newspapers report that some Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, were elected on the pro-government list B.B. in Volhynia, but it is doubtful, the "Dilo" says, if those men are racially conscious Ukrainians.*

*This point was stressed by the Polish propaganda abroad. The Danzig correspondent of the Italian newspaper "Corriere della Serra", who wrote a series of articles on Poland, about the end of December, 1930, received protests from the Poles against his report on the number of seats in the Sejm won by Poland's racial minorities, in the election of November 16, 1930. He was astonished to see that Polish propaganda, on one hand, increases the number of the deputies of those racial minorities, on the other hand, pays no attention to the numerous protests of those minorities against the election methods used by the Polish government. He received from representatives of Poland abroad reports that the Ukrainians will have in the Sejm 21 deputies elected from the minorities list, and 8 deputies elected in the government list. (Similar additions were "granted" to the Jews, White Ruthenians, Czechs, and Russians.) "The purpose of this (addition)", says the "Corriere della Serra" correspondent, "is to show, on one hand, that the racial minorities have in the Sejm a greater numerical strength (than they really have), and, on the other hand, to suggest that the process of assimilation of those racial minorities (by the Poles) is already in progress. My previous article had for its purpose to study racial minorities, and for this reason I cannot see in what way those deputies: 8 Ukrainian, 3 Jewish, and 1 White Ruthenian, could work for the preservation of their*

*own race if they will be compelled, by the very character of their offices, to vote at every opportunity for the government, even in the matter of the laws directed against the minorities themselves.*

*"Experience teaches that in every nation the masses of racial minorities are always opposed to the government, with the exception of those rare cases in which some individuals of their own free will agree to assimilation, which all the governments try to conduct, to a smaller or greater degree. If it were otherwise, the Allies would not have introduced into the peace treaties some clauses about the protection of racial minorities, which have binding power, through the League of Nations. Only Poland has renounced those treaties, will she be able to speak openly about any kind of assimilation, forceful or peaceful. But it is well known that Poland does not belong among those European nations who strive for the revision of the peace treaties".\*)*

*The "Dilo" thinks that the most significant feature of the last election, as far as the Ukrainians are concerned, is the fact that out of the Ukrainian representation, numbering 20 persons, six are imprisoned. To be imprisoned does not mean yet the loss of the seat as yet unless the deputy is imprisoned as a result of a valid sentence condemning him for a crime especially enumerated among the felonies bringing with them the loss of the seat.*

*The "Dilo" finally enumerates 24 Ukrainian ex-deputies who failed to win a seat in the new Sejm. Some of them did not run. Three clergymen failed to obtain the permission of the church authorities. The names of Mr. V. Tselevych and Mr. Dmytro Paliyiv were crossed out from the list of candidates because no consent from them was secured for such a candidacy: they were both imprisoned in Brest fortress, all communication with them being cut off.—Ed.)*

(b)

#### A DICTATOR'S MAJORITY ELECTORAL VICTORY BY FRAUD

(From our Special Correspondent.)

The electoral victory of the Polish Dictatorship is the triumph of force and fraud. Old revolutionaries, who are hardened to almost anything, declare that even under the Tsar there was nothing so completely shameless and cynical as these elections. It is almost idle to discuss the returns in detail—they are too big an imposture, and have too little relationship with the real state of feeling in Poland. A discredited Government that would nor-

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\* Vide "Corr. d. Serra", February 9, 1931.—Ed.

mally have lost a great many (some say a hundred) seats has gained more than a hundred.

This might seem to be a miracle, but it is precisely what everyone expected. By disqualifying 24 lists of the Opposition parties the Dictatorship secured about a third of the 444 seats of Parliament before the polling. Violence, intimidation, and trickery did the rest, and Marshal Pilsudski has obtained the substantial absolute majority he set out to obtain. But his victory does not solve either the social or the national problem of Poland.

There was a time when it might have seemed that Poland would develop peacefully by means of social reform and by reconciliation between the Poles and the subject minorities who make up a third of the population. But the election leaves a class hatred greater than any Poland has ever known—the greatest perhaps in all Europe,—and Nationalist hatred more implacable than anything that ever existed in Ireland. The future of Poland is now completely dark. The foundations of a healthy social and national life have been destroyed, and there are many objective observers of Polish affairs who are now convinced that the country is bound to drift towards revolutionary convulsion.

The elections to the Diet passed off without disturbance throughout Poland, except at some places in the suburbs of Warsaw and at Poznan (Posen), where there were collisions between the supporters of the different parties.

As far as can be ascertained the percentage of voting in the general election was as follows:—In the provinces, Government bloc 65 per cent in the eastern provinces, Government bloc 95 per cent; in the western provinces, Germans 65 per cent; in the big towns (Warsaw, Cracow, &c.), Government bloc 55 per cent.

Manchester Guardian, November 17, 1930.

(c)

### POLISH "ELECTIONS"

The Polish elections, which have given Marshal Pilsudski a clear majority over all the other parties combined, represent nothing but the determination of his Government to stay in power at all costs. Our special correspondent has described the methods by which a minority of 172 has been turned into an independent majority. Fraud, imprisonment, and brutality have done their work so thoroughly that the will of the Polish majority will in future be as powerless in the Parliament as it has long been in the Government. An irresponsible Government has called into existence an irresponsible Parliament. Marshal Pilsudski by emas-



culating the Parliament has driven opposition underground, but the whole past history of his race suggests that by doing so he will make it not less but more powerful. In place of the security with which he hopes to attract foreign investors his policy is likely to undermine confidence. He has destroyed the basis of consent which is the best guarantee of the safety of foreign capital. He has made it appear that only by revolution can the Government be changed. It is true that these things accord well enough with the Parliamentary history of Poland. The old spirit of unyielding pride and stubborn faction, which destroyed the old kingdom of Poland, was reproduced in the Parliament of the new Republic, while the difficulties of government were reinforced by the fact that a third of the population belongs to one or other of the oppressed national minorities. Poland to-day is suffering at the hands of Marshal Pilsudski because her frontiers are too widely drawn and her parties far too partisan.

The Manchester Guardian, November 18, 1930.

(d)

#### AFTER THE VERDICT

Two verdicts have just been returned in Poland, one in the polling booths, the other in the minds of men. The election returns give a magnificent vote of confidence to the tyranny of Marshal Pilsudski. Throughout the Polish Republic his assistants may congratulate themselves on a work well done. They have fulfilled their trust. They have falsified the will of the people. In Eastern Europe one is accustomed to elections which are "made." That technical term covers a multitude of unrighteous acts: undue influence, impersonation, incorrect returns. In a civilized country they would invalidate the result of the election. They would be severely punished as breaches of the electoral law. It is not, however, by these methods alone that this splendid victory has been won. Things have been done during the election campaign that in a decently governed country would come before the courts not on an election petition but as common crimes. If Marshal Pilsudski's aim was to win a working majority in Parliament he has every reason to be satisfied. If, however, his object was to convince the outside world that he possessed, or was worthy to possess, the confidence of his people he has signally failed in the attempt.

It is not the votes recorded at the election but the way in which the votes were won which is significant. For one particular local-

ity we have a mass of first-hand information. Eastern Galicia, the Polish Ukraine, has just been visited by a special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian." This countryside has been the scene of a "pacification" by the Polish army. Driven to desperation by the persecution of Poland and the deafness of the League of Nations to protests, some of the rasher villagers resorted to rick-burning and the like. The authorities at Warsaw were not content to punish these crimes in the usual way with the appropriate penalties. They sent cavalry regiments to beat indiscriminately any peasants they could catch. There was no pretence of trial, no inquiry as to guilt. Our special correspondent was in Galicia on the eve of polling day. What he saw with his own eyes—a cowed peasantry and innocent men beaten to the edge of death—he has faithfully described in the "Manchester Guardian." His witness is borne out by a letter which we publish this morning from a recent visitor to these parts, a man who had the misfortune to choose for his holiday the scene of a massacre. In one sentence he sums up the position: "Polish doctors refuse to attend the injured, and Ukrainian doctors are arrested whenever found ministering to suffering fellow-men." It is impossible "to draw a bill of indictment against a whole nation"—that is the error into which Polish officers have callously fallen; but it is necessary to condemn without exception a system of government which uses such methods to win the allegiance of its citizens. Remembering these terrible things, what is one to make of the impudent official assurance that the trusted Ukrainian leaders have been thrown over by their people and that "the loyal Ukrainian group within the Government bloc will now be able to foster those interests in harmony with the interests of the Republic"? It is idle to expect men who have undergone or witnessed such suffering to vote against the Government which inflicted it in a country where secret voting has just been quietly abolished by the action of that Government.

But the events in Poland are not only a tragedy for the Poles; they are also a tragedy for the hope of understanding in Europe. One of the features of the election campaign was the virulence of the Polish attacks on Germany. It must be admitted that Poland was not unjustifiably annoyed at the indiscretions of Herr Treviranus, a member of the German Cabinet, in demanding a revision of Germany's eastern frontiers. The sane and reasonable thing to do is to work, not for a change in boundary marks, but for a state of things in which, where precisely just boundaries are difficult to secure, frontier posts become irrelevant; but it is difficult to follow a reasonable policy in a world which stubbornly refuses

to be sane. If Poland wants good relations with her neighbours, she can only win them by treating decently their national minorities within her frontiers. If the Ukrainians in Russia could rest assured that their kinsmen in Poland were in possession of the ordinary rights of man, they would think a great deal less bitterly of Poland. If Germany knew that the large German minority in Poland enjoyed the schools and language to which they have a treaty-guaranteed right, she would be willing to abandon the sullen opposition which mars many League meetings. Unfortunately these countries have no such assurance. They know, rather, that their kinsmen are persecuted. As long as Poland continues to oppress her subject nationalities, who between them account for a third of her population, so long will Poland have bad relations with her neighbours. And as long as Poland is surrounded by hostile States she will never for one moment feel secure. While she is haunted by the fear of a new Partition she will refuse to disarm herself and, as so often happens, she will prevent the Great Power which protects her from taking that necessary step to peace. Poland—with France acting on her behalf—seeks security by a new Protocol or an Eastern Locarno. She should seek it rather in her own domestic policy.

The Manchester Guardian, November 20, 1930.

(e)

#### REPRESSION IN POLAND "MAKING" ELECTIONS

(From our Correspondent at Bydgoszcz (Bromberg))

There is no doubt whatever that if the Polish elections were being held by fair means they would sweep Pilsudski and his Government out of existence by an overwhelming majority. But they are, to use a Continental expression, being "made," and it is the Government that is "making" them. Its methods are infinitely varied and ingenious. The commonest is simply to disqualify the "lists" of the Opposition. Poland has an advanced system of P.R., and, as in Germany, the electorate votes not for individual candidates, but for party lists of candidates. Such a list is only allowed if it is signed by fifty persons who are qualified by Polish citizenship, age, and so on to give their signatures.

The German minority at Graudenz submitted a list which, for safety's sake, was accompanied by a hundred signatures. The Poles, it was thought, might disqualify a few of these signatures, but not fifty-one. As a matter of fact the Poles disqualified fifty-

eight, and so the Germans at Graudenz have been disfranchised. Signatures are disqualified by various subtle devices—for example, it is quite a common thing for a so-called “graphologist” to be asked to decide whether the signatures are forged or not, and he is, of course, only too willing to say they are, in which case redress is rarely possible. Or some unknown persons declare that the signatories are not Polish subjects, or are minors, whereupon they are simply disallowed without any appeal.

Individual voters are also disqualified in great numbers—for example, they are informed, say, on the 15th of the month that there are doubts as to their Polish citizenship, but if they prove the contrary on the 14th of the same month these doubts will be removed and they will be entitled to vote. Then, when they do prove the contrary to the satisfaction of the local authorities, they are told that this is all very well, but they should have done so not later than the 14th. When they ask how they could have done so on the 14th, seeing that they were only informed on the 15th, they are told with a shrug of the shoulders that regulations are regulations and that they will not be able to vote. The number of persons who have been deprived of the franchise either by individual disqualification or by disqualification of party lists probably amounts to hundreds of thousands, perhaps even to a million by now, and will no doubt grow between now and Sunday.

#### A SHAM “GERMAN” LIST

Another trick that has been practised here in Bromberg is for the Polish authorities to start a German party which will be a rival to the party of the German's own choice. No self-respecting German lends himself to such a device, but a few shady characters have been collected and have received the dignity of a party. There is no chance whatever that this sham “German” party will return a single candidate, but it may help to weaken the real German vote a little—which is, after all, its open purpose.

Direct pressure is also being used to influence the voting. Thus a number of German railwaymen here have been ordered under threats to canvass for the German “bloc.” Each one has been assigned to five specified houses, and is told that if he does not get ten persons in these five houses to promise their votes to the Government he will regret it. “We cannot,” he is told, “legally dismiss you, but if you do not get your ten voters you will have to face the consequences” (which, of course, is dismissal).

The arrest and imprisonment of Opposition candidates has become a mere commonplace of the Polish election campaign (over



eighty who were members of the last Parliament are now in prison). The suppression of newspapers is equally common.

### THE WORST SUFFERERS

But it must not be supposed that it is the Germans alone who are being oppressed in Poland. For them the election campaign has made things only just a little worse—that is to say, the constant galling pressure and chicanery under which they have always lived in the Polish Republic has been no more than slightly intensified. The fate of the purely Polish Opposition (at least since the campaign began) is no more enviable. The fate of the extremest Opposition (particularly the Communists) is far worse, and most dreadful of all are the atrocities committed by the Polish “punitive expeditions” in the Ukraine. These, indeed, are the most tragic things in these tragic elections, which are farcical only on the surface—to look a little way beneath the surface and to realize the implications of all that is being done is to be filled with a sense of disgust with the Dictatorship and of tragic pity for the highly gifted peoples, whether Polish, German, or Ukrainian, who are doomed to live beneath it.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly, November 14, 1930.

### AT THE POLLING BOOTHS: WHERE NO GERMAN NEED APPLY

(From our Special Correspondent.)

Kattowice (Kattowitz), Sunday.

It is with a sense of relief, after the nightmare of cruelty and oppression in the Ukraine, that one sees the factory chimneys of Upper Silesia breaking the flat skyline. The densely populated industrial area, with its trade unions and its class-conscious working masses, has far more resources against tyranny than scattered villages inhabited by primitive peasantry. And yet here, as elsewhere in Poland, the Dictatorship is using force and fraud in its attempts to win the elections. No bills and posters except those with No. 1—that is to say, the Government list—are to be seen. There has been a good deal of violence, a number of persons have been “beaten up” (naturally most of them belong to the German minority), and there has been a great deal of window-smashing.

The Government rowdies, who masquerade as Socialists, and who were so prominent in Warsaw, hardly exist here. Their work as Government gangsters is done by the “insurgents,” who are a

kind of American legion in miniature. They are veterans of the insurrection organized and led by Korfanty in 1921. On special occasions (to-day, for example) they wear the khaki uniform and Sam Brown of the Polish officer. Their honorary chief is a voevod of Eastern Upper Silesia, Graszynski. The police do not as a rule interfere with their terroristic activities.

### A POLLING TEST

In the town of Kattowice the polling went on peacefully all day. Nearly half the inhabitants are Germans, many of them organized workmen, and they cannot be terrorised very easily. I visited several of the remoter polling stations. Outside stood several men, each holding a packet of small squares of paper. These are the ballot papers, and each one bears a number—one for the Government (or rather Pilsudski), 12 for the German list, 19 for Korfanty, and so on. The voter takes as many of these papers as he wishes, and goes into the polling station with them. Inside his name is checked by a clerk, and then he takes an envelope from the clerk's table. He then puts the ballot paper bearing the number of his choice into the envelope, and drops it into the ballot-box—a large metal chest with the Polish eagle painted on it.

Wishing to test the fairness of the procedure, I asked the men outside one of these outlying polling stations for the German ticket, but there was none to be had. In this way hundreds of Germans living in the neighbourhood are deprived of their vote. Two "insurgents," swarthy unshaved men, their uniform adorned with several Polish medals, came up. "What about the German ticket?" I asked. They grinned broadly, and one of them explained with gesticulating vivacity that Germans were not tolerated in Poland. He finished by going through the motion of thrashing a German with a cudgel, twisting his mouth in grim hatred. I understood well enough that no German could venture near this polling station with impunity. Besides, in the absence of ballot papers with his number there would be little use in his trying. All the other numbers were there, Korfanty, the Socialists, and even the Communists. Only the German was missing.

### SECRECY NOT ENSURED

Inside the station the voters usually put their ballot papers into the envelope in full view of the clerk and of the uniformed "insurgents" lounging around. (It was, of course, safest to leave no doubt that the vote was used for list No. 1.) A few voters went

into the corner of the room to put their ballot papers into the envelope. I asked why there was no screen or booth to ensure secrecy. I was told that it was not necessary, although there would be a screen next Sunday, when the elections for the Upper Silesian Parliament will be held, and the procedure is laid down, not in the Polish Constitution, but in the Geneva Convention.

A good many voters who came to this polling station were told that they were not on the register. The number of those who have been struck off the register in Upper Silesia for no clear reason is very big—apparently it goes into many thousands, perhaps 10,000, perhaps 15,000. They are nearly all Germans.

I visited another polling station near Schoppinitz. Here no ballot papers were put out except Nos. 1 and 19 (Pilsudski and Korfanty). In this neighbourhood also there are many Germans. Only in the town of Kattowice itself is there anything like fair play. There the German ballot paper is available, and the Germans come to vote in such numbers that individuals cannot be victimised.

The Manchester Guardian, November 18, 1930.

### POLISH ELECTION RESULTS THE OFFICIAL VIEW

The Polish Press Bureau in London last night issued a statement in which it is claimed that the fact that two parties, whose opposition to the Government was most uncompromising, increased their ranks, shows clearly that the electors were unfettered in the choice of their representatives.

"Apart from the German minority," the statement continues, "all the other minorities voted to a large extent for the Government party whose lists included the representatives of Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Jews, and others. The Germans, who had 19 seats in the old Sejm, were left with only five, losing all their seats held in the so-called 'corridor' and half their seats in Silesia. The Ukrainian Nationalists have lost the monopoly of representing the interests of the Ukrainian minority as opposed to the interests of the Polish State. The loyal Ukrainian group within the Government block will now be able to foster those interests in harmony with the interests of the Republic."

The Press Bureau claims that the independent majority which the Government have obtained makes it possible for them to carry on for at least five years. It admits that the reform of the constitution requires a two-thirds majority, which the Government have

not yet secured. "However, it may be assumed," concludes the statement, "that with the lapse of time it will be possible to find a measure of agreement for the solution of this national question."

The Manchester Guardian, November 19, 1930.

(e)

### GERMANS AND THE POLISH ELECTIONS COMPLAINT TO GENEVA URGED

(From our own Correspondent)

Berlin, Wednesday.

A very serious view is taken here of the way in which the German minority was deprived of the free exercise of its franchise in the Polish elections. A protest is, so I gather, to be made at Geneva, and there is reason to believe that the protest will be rather more emphatic than has been usual hitherto.

The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" writes:—"The attention of the whole civilized world has been called to the atrocities in Eastern Galicia. But in the regions that once belonged to Germany the most elementary human rights have been successively violated in an outrageous manner. A big official complaint to the League of Nations (which, it must be admitted, shows itself inefficient in these matters) is the least we must demand."

The Manchester Guardian, Thurs., Nov. 20, 1930.

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### 3.

### *BREST AFFAIR IN THE POLISH PARLIAMENT.*

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(a)

### OPPRESSION IN POLAND.

It has become impossible to keep the horrors of Brest-Litovsk dark any longer. The Polish Left have now raised the matter by an interpellation in the Sejm. Perhaps Pilsudski's own supporters will have been astonished at the mediaeval treatment of men like Lieberman, Korfanty, and all the others who were imprisoned in the fortress.

Lieberman is a jurist with an international reputation and an old revolutionary and orator of exceptional eloquence, and also a man to whom Pilsudski owes a great deal. Lieberman, according to the abundant material now submitted to the Sejm, was



dragged into a fortress on the way to Brest-Litovsk and beaten by his armed military guards until he fainted. Korfanty, the "conqueror of Upper Silesia" and one of Poland's national heroes, was beaten in prison; so was the leader, Dr. Bajaniski, and many others. The Christian Democratic deputy Potil was beaten in the way hundreds of peasants have been beaten in the Ukraine.

Some indication of such things was given by your special correspondent in Warsaw a month ago. Then a Polish senator named Strug published some details in the "Robotnik," including a portrait of Lieberman before and after his imprisonment — a terrible contrast. But this number of the "Robotnik" was at once confiscated by the police, although a few copies reached the outside world.

### PROTESTS IN POLISH DIET.

#### *A Stormy Sitting.*

A Reuter telegram from Warsaw says that at a stormy sitting of the Diet, which ended at 11.30 on Tuesday night, the National Democrats moved an urgency motion concerning the imprisonment of a number of Opposition deputies at Brest-Litovsk during and since the recent general election. These deputies, among whom were a number of ex-Ministers, were, it was declared, beaten, tortured, and treated worse than condemned felons. Although they had not been tried they were separated from their families for three months and deprived of legal advice. Their treatment was characterised as worse than that of prisoners in Russia in Tsarist times.

A Government speaker demanded the rejection of the motion, and said that its aim was purely propagandist. Any one of the deputies who were subjected to ill-treatment could appeal to the courts. Communist deputies shouted for the release of all political prisoners, whereupon Government deputies retorted by recommending them not to murder their own prisoners. The Socialists demanded the release of some of the deputies who were still in prison, and as the Government party would not allow them to speak they handed to the Speaker a list of the names of those still incarcerated, with a full description of their maltreatment.

Both motions were referred to a committee.

#### DEPUTIES' GRAVE ALLEGATIONS.

The "Robotnik" on Wednesday printed the interpellation on this subject that was presented to the Speaker of the Diet at

Tuesday's session. The document states that numerous Opposition deputies were arrested over two months ago and have since been confined in the military prison of Brest-Litovsk. These deputies, it continues, were beaten unconscious and forced to clean out the latrines. They had to wash the floors and corridors until they were absolutely exhausted, and were refused baths. They were starved and incarcerated in dark cells, had to sleep on bare boards, and had no latrines. The only nourishment they received was a little bread and warm salted water.

They were beaten with ramrods through wet clothes so that there should be no bruises. During the administration of the punishment a motor was set going to drown the moans and cries of the prisoners. The officers in command of the prison are stated to have declared that the fate of the prisoners depended entirely on the decision of Marshal Pilsudski. If he ordered it, they would be killed or maimed.

*(The Manchester Guardian Weekly, December 19, 1930).*

(b)

#### INTERPELLATION OF THE POLISH OPPOSITION ON THE BREST.

*(The document printed below is the interpellation of the Polish Opposition deputies to the Polish Sejm at Warsaw on the well-known affair of Brest. The interpellation was printed in several Polish Opposition papers both in Poland and in America, for instance the "Gazeta Poranna" of Warsaw and the "Ameryka-Echo," of Toledo, Ohio. The Ukrainian Lviv daily "Dilo," when reprinting it goes to the trouble of emphasizing the fact that the interpellation was not suppressed when it appeared in the "Gazeta Poranna.")*

*The Interpellation was introduced by the "Gazeta Poranna" in the following words:*

*"At the conclusion of the session, the parliamentary union of the peasant deputies, of the Club of the National Workers' Party, and of the Polish Socialist Party has brought the following interpellation:*

**"TO THE HEAD OF THE CABINET OF THE MINISTERS, ON THE ILLEGAL ARRESTS OF EX-DEPUTIES, ON PLACING THEM IN A MILITARY PRISON AT BREST, AND ON TREATING THEM NOT ONLY CONTRARY TO ALL THE LEGAL PROVISIONS NOW IN FORCE, BUT ALSO CONTRARY TO THE SENSE OF HUMAN DIGNITY."**

*The document is published in full.—Ed.)*

## I.

On the night of September 9, 1930, there were arrested by the Polish state police and military gendarmes the following citizen civilians:

1. Norbert Barlicki, ex-member of the Polish Sejm, ex-member of the Council for the Defense of the State and delegate to the peace conference with Soviet Russia, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party.
2. Kazimierz Baginski, ex-member of the Sejm, a member of military organizations, an officer in the Polish Army, decorated with the order "Virtuti Militari".
3. Adam Ciolkosz, ex-member of the Sejm, an active worker of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) in Tarnow.
4. Vladimir Tselevich, ex-member of the Sejm.
5. Aleksander Dembski, ex-member of the Sejm, ex-voyvoda and renowned social worker of the Populist Party.
6. Stanislaw Dubois, ex-member of the Sejm, a member of the editorial staff of "Robotnik", a worker in the organization of youth.
7. Wladyslaw Kiernik, ex-member of the Sejm, ex-Minister of the Interior and a member of the Polish Delegation to the peace conference with Soviet Russia.
8. Jan Kwiatkowski, ex-member of the Sejm.
9. Osyp Kohut, ex-member of the Sejm.
10. Herman Liberman, ex-member of the Sejm, the attorney of the Legionaries in the well known trial at Marmarosch-Sziget, prosecutor for the Sejm in the impeachment by the Tribunal of the State of Minister Czechowicz.
11. Jan Leszczynski, ex-member of the Sejm.
12. Mieczyslaw Mastek, ex-member of the Sejm, vice-chairman of the Union of Railroad-workers.
13. Jozef Putek, ex-member of the Sejm and known worker for the peasants.
14. Adam Pragier, ex-member of the Sejm, professor at the Free University, known social worker.
15. Karol Popiel, member of the Sejm till 1928, known worker of the National Workers' Party.
16. Dmytro Paliyiv, ex-member of the Sejm.
17. Adolf Sawicki, ex-member of the Sejm.
18. Aleksander Wislocki, ex-member of the Sejm.
19. Wincenty Witos, ex-member of the Sejm, twice Premier of the Polish Government, member of the Council for the Defense of the State, leader of the Populist Party "Piast".

Finally, after the dissolution of the Sejm of Silesia, there were arrested on September 26, 1930:

20. Wojciech Korfanty, ex-member of the Sejm, known national social worker in the region which was once under Prussian occupation, who was arrested in his house in Katowice.

To these persons there were added, 21, Bacmaga, ex-member of the Sejm, a member of the "Non-partisan Bloc of Cooperation with the Government," who has been deprived of his immunity by the Sejm on charges proffered against him for crimes, thefts and embezzlements.

The arrest of the above persons has been decided upon by the government some time earlier, as was confirmed by the Prime Minister on September 14, 1930, who stated that he had ordered to collect the cases investigated by the public Prosecutor's office. This is also confirmed by the fact that already several days before the arrests the government had ordered to vacate the wards of the military prison at Brest-on-the-Bug and to transfer Mr. Kostek-Biernacki, Colonel of the 38th regiment of infantry in Przemyśl, to the office of commandant of the fortress of Brest. The officials who carried out the arrests had therefore plenty of time to apply to the proper courts regarding this matter and to obtain from them the necessary warrants for the arrest of the accused.

In spite of this the arrests were carried out WITHOUT COURT WARRANTS, on a mere written order of the Minister of the Interior Mr. Składkowski, an ORDER which LACKED BOTH THE DATE AND THE ARREST.

Such methods of arresting, being contrary to the precepts of criminal procedure now in force, are an outright violation of the law by the government.

*(Those individuals enumerated under 4, 9, 11, 16 and 18, are Ukrainians by race.*

*Some of them are men prominent in social work or politics: Tselevich, Kobut, and Paliyiv are prominent as political leaders. The interpellation significantly omits to mention these facts, thus by omission giving the expression to the current Polish conception that only he who works for the Polish race may be considered as useful to the Polish State.—Ed.)*

## II.

The men arrested in such an unusual way were spirited away by the state police and military gendarmes in closed carriages in an unknown direction. The whole trip they were called various names and threatened. During the trip, beyond the city of Siedlce, DR. H. LIBERMAN WAS BEATEN UP BY THE CONDUCTING



## POLICE AND GENDARMES TILL HE LOST CONSCIOUSNESS.

At a certain moment P. P., the commissar of the police leading the escort, bade the chauffeur stop and ordered Dr. Liberman to alight from the auto. After a moment a military gendarme ordered him to go to the forest, where he was awaited by the commissar P.P. Dr. Liberman, suspecting some trap, refused to go, but was driven into the forest with the butts of the gendarmes' rifles. When he stood in the forest before the commissar P.P., the latter addressed him, "Why don't you come, knave, when I'm calling you?" and he struck him twice in the neck, straining his tendon.

Under these blows Dr. Liberman fell to the ground; his head was then wrapped with his own coat, one of the escorts sat on his head, his clothes were torn off and while they called him names and abused him, saying, "How dare you accuse Czechowicz? How dare you raise your voice against the Lord Marshal?"), they whipped him till he lost consciousness. He received more than twenty bleeding wounds, which some time after the incident were attested by Mr. Karol Popiel, who was imprisoned with him. After this cruel attack Dr. Liberman regained consciousness only later while he was being dragged back to the automobile by two men escorting him.

## III.

The arrested men were illegally brought into a military prison in Brest-on-Bug (Brest-Litovsk—Edit.), which is ruled by military authorities, headed by Colonel Kostek-Biernacki, especially delegated for that purpose—although all of the prisoners were civilians and in spite of the fact that they were accused by civilian authorities.

Having been placed thus, contrary to the laws in force, into a military fortress, they were subjected, in the capacity of conscripts, to military authorities, particularly to Colonel Kostek-Biernacki. In this manner they were removed from the power of proper judicial authorities, although the law in force explicitly prescribes that prisons of all kinds and all the civilian prisoners are subject to the Minister of Justice (Decree of the President of the Polish Republic, dated March 17, 1928, as quoted in the official Law Reports 29/28), and that military prisons serve only for the detention of persons subject to military tribunals (Decree of the Min. of Military Affairs, dated October 29, 1921, No. 4996/19.).

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\* Pilsudski.

This illegally applied intervention of military authorities regarding the arrested was also further applied during the investigation against the prisoners, as, on September 11, 1930, Dr. Liberman was summoned before the investigating magistrate, in whose room, beside the magistrate, were also Colonel Kostek-Biernacki, several officers and prosecutor Michalowski. Dr. Liberman, having answered the general questions about himself, and having declared that he is not guilty, asked in what way he was supposed to have committed the crime he was charged with, and received the answer from the magistrate, "by preparing the conference of the Centrolew, which was intended to overthrow the government by force".

There then took place the following exchange of remarks between the arrested man and the magistrate.

"Which public prosecutor accuses me of that crime?"

A. "The Public Prosecutor of Warsaw".

Q. "Why then am I in Brest, in a military prison?"

A. "I don't know that. That is not my affair."

Q. "What shall I do to communicate with the judge or prosecutor?"

A. "You may bring an application to the prosecutor."

At this moment Col. Kostek-Biernacki broke in, declaring, "I must correct this statement. There won't be any application. You will be called to report."

This declaration, contrary to the provisions of the code of criminal procedure was received both by the examining magistrate and the prosecutor in silence.

The arrested were cut off from the world in a manner so far unheard of in law; they were kept incommunicado, were allowed to see neither their attorneys nor their nearest relatives, although these were the requests tendered both by Dr. Liberman and Mr. Korfanty when they felt themselves near death. What was the purpose of this isolation it is difficult to grasp, especially today after the arrested were released on bail without fear that they will influence their witnesses or destroy the traces of their "crimes". An inference must be made, therefore, that it was dictated by considerations others than those of a proper conduct of the said inquiry, the more so, as the investigating magistrate repeatedly declared to the family intervening that the decision in the matter did not depend upon him.

## IV.

To the arrested was applied the military rule, which is not applied even to those deserting from the army.

Military regulations unusually severe, which were illegally applied to the arrested civilians, were made still more severe by the practice of the officers and gendarmes or the Polish Army who conducted the prison.

The men, who, in Polish society occupied high social positions, were usually addressed by the gendarmes and the officers as "thou", assailed with most vulgar names, and were forced to perform the hardest and most menial labor. Mr. Witos, once the Premier of the Polish cabinet, for many years deputy of the Polish Sejm, the defender of the Polish Legionists, Reserve Lieutenant-Colonel of the Polish Army; Dr. H. Liberman, professor Pragier of the Free University, and others, were made to clean, with rags or short brooms, that is almost with bare hands, lavatories, to scrub floors and corridors, under military guard, to such a degree that they swooned out of sheer exhaustion. Dr. Liberman, as a result of such treatment, suffered a severe heart attack and could reach his ward only with the help of his comrade, Mr. Witos.

The prisoners were refused a bath, and were allowed to wash their feet only rarely, each time after a special report to the management.

Until November 9, 1930, the prisoners received food which was especially intended to starve them and which was contrary both to all regulations published in this matter and to prevailing customs. The investigating magistrate continually refused the families of the prisoners to supply food, on the pretext that the food rations which the prisoners received were sufficient.

## V.

For any trifling violations of the prison regulations or any disrespect towards the prison guards, were visited upon the prisoners most inhumane disciplinary punishments.

Individual prisoners were thrown into a dark room in solitary confinement, where they were not given even a bucket for their natural needs. The hard bed had no straw-sack on it, only blocks of wood placed at a distance from one another. The punishment included fasting, during which the prisoners were given only a crumb of bread and warm salted water.

About once a week the prisoners were searched although they had no communication either with one another or with the outside world so that any suspicion that they could have any object not permitted by the regulations was completely unfounded. These searches, therefore, as a rule carried out at night, were merely one of the methods intended to break the spirit and complete the physical tortures of the prisoners. For the purpose of search the prisoners were taken from all wards to one, special half-dark room in the basement. The prisoners were denuded and had to stand with their bare feet on a cold floor, and all through the procedure were treated in a contemptuous manner by the prison guards conducting the search.

## VI.

The most terrible of all, however, was the fiendish maltreatment, physical and moral, of the prisoners.

During the night following October 9, 1930, a turnkey led Mr. Karol Popiel through an illuminated corridor to the prison office, behind which there was a dark, empty hall. On the threshold there stood a captain of the Department of Equipment of the Min. of Milit. Affairs. When Mr. Popiel, at the captain's command, stepped over the threshold of the dark room, he was seized by several hands. One of the gendarmes grabbed him by the head, another by the legs under the knees and he was thrown upon a bench. A wet blanket was thrown over his back, and as he called, "Have fear of God!" he received the first blow with an iron tool, probably a rifle ramrod, and heard a voice say, "This is for Sikorski! This is for Zymirski!"

Of such blows Mr. Popiel received at least thirty. In the process of the beating he swooned, and regaining consciousness momentarily he heard them count, "twenty five" and then after several seconds the order "Stop" and the flogging was interrupted. The captain present at this proceeding addressed the tortured prisoner, "You may be happy that you received so little. Next time the Marshal Pilsudski will send a bullet through your skull."

Mr. Popiel was then passed from hand to hand and led to the ward in the cellar where he was kept several days.

The flogging of Mr. Popiel was witnessed by Capt. Mieczyslaw Kedzierski. The ward into which he was thrown after flogging was often visited by Major Edward Gorczynski of the old Legion of "Shooters".



In a similar manner were flogged also Mr. Baginski and Mr. Korfanty, while Dr. Putek and Barlicki were mauled by a gendarme, and Mr. Kohut and others had their ears boxed in a barbarous manner:

This enumeration does not exhaust, however, the sum of the victims of the savage behavior of the military prison personnel.

While any of the prisoners were being flogged, the motor pumping water was set in motion to muffle by its noise the groans of the victims. The starting of the motor came to be for the prisoners a sign that one of them was being subjected again to the torture of flogging.

## VII.

Alongside with these physical tortures the prisoners were subjected to still more cruel mental tortures. Cut off completely from the world, not knowing what was going on in the country, ignorant of the charges preferred against them, or of the fate which was in store for them,—the prisoners remained under a constant threat of death. Colonel Biernacki declared to Dr. Pra-gier quite frankly, "You have insulted my superior, which is equal to your insulting myself. I could shoot you under this wall, and nobody would give me a word of reproach for it!"

In a like manner Colonel Biernacki expressed himself before Dr. Liberman, saying that "all the prisoners' fate depends upon Marshal Pilsudski and only the Marshal's word will decide their fate." One of the officers, whose name is unknown, declared in Dr. Liberman's presence, "The fate of the prisoners depends entirely upon Marshal Pilsudski's decision; should he order them to be killed, they will be killed, should he order to maim them they will be maimed." Colonel Biernacki declared to Mr. Barlicki, "You have so insulted Marshal Pilsudski that you can not count upon the courts."

For the purpose of keeping this threat in the consciousness of the prisoners, mock executions were arranged from time to time. Thus in the first days of October, 1930, an officer entered the ward in which were Dr. Liberman and Mr. Popiel, and gave the order, "Put on your overcoat!" ordering the inmates to follow him. Asked by Mr. Popiel if they were to take bread with them, the officer answered, "You will need nothing now," and made a significant gesture with his hand. Both prisoners were brought to a ward in the cellar in which the usual searches were made. The ward was empty, the straw-sack of the bed was removed and

straw was scattered all over the floor. As Dr. Liberman and Mr. Popiel were thus led there they were convinced that they would be executed.

After a moment they heard a commotion and the sounds of steps in the neighboring ward, and then the command, "Turn to the wall!" Then a sharp report, as if of two shots. In mortal anxiety they waited for their turn. After a long while their cell was opened slowly and three persons entered with an officer. There was again a command, "Turn to the wall!" and they were sure that shots would follow. But it all ended only in shooting over their heads and in a search.

### VIII.

To carry out these tortures and to oversee their application officers of the Polish Army were used, especially commissioned from their detachments for the service at Brest.

Thus were commissioned:

1. Colonel Kostek-Biernacki, the commandant of the Infantry Regiment No. 38, at Przemyśl;
2. Colonel Ryszanek from the Higher Military School;
3. Major Edward Gorczynski of the Service of Communications;
4. Major Stanislaw Perko, the associate commandant of the School of Reserve Officers in Modlin;
5. Captain Majta of the Field Artillery Regiment No. 20;
6. Captain Mieczyslaw Kiedzierski of the Department of Equipment of the Ministry of Military Affairs.

By the above illegal arrests; by the subjection of civilian prisoners illegally to military discipline; by detaining them in a military prison, contrary to the law; by the treatment, above described, by the inhumane maltreating of them;—and finally by the use of the officers of the Polish Army—not only the law then in force was violated by the government of that time, but the honor and the dignity of the State and of the Polish people were trampled upon.

In view of these facts, the undersigned interpellate:

1. What does the Premier intend to do in order to bring those guilty to a responsibility and punishment?
2. What steps does he intend to undertake to make similar violations of the rights of the citizens of the State in the future impossible?

Warsaw, December 16, 1930.

(c)

BREST AFFAIR IN THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE  
OF THE SEJM.

The Brest affair came before the Judiciary Committee on January 20, 1931, as a result of the motions of the Polish National Club and the Ukrainian Club. At the beginning of the meeting of the committee DEP. TROMPCZYNSKI made a motion to elect a vice-chairman to conduct the meeting of today since Mr. Car, the chairman of the Committee, is an interested party. Vice-marshal Car declared that as a minister he is responsible only to the State Tribunal and for this reason he would not put the motion to vote.

DEPUTY PASCHALSKI, of the B.B., then took the floor and made his report on the motion of the B. B. about the Brest affair.

He explained the charges that the ex-deputies had been arrested in the night-time without a warrant from a judge and they had been spirited away in closed automobiles to Brest; the speaker explained that the public prosecutor has the right to arrest whenever there is a danger of the culprit running away. The district court of Warsaw discussed the affair and confirmed the decision. Imprisonment in a military jail is permissible in some cases. The Committee has no right to intercede because of the isolation of the ex-deputies in the prison. Whether the arrests were illegal, this is not the matter to be decided by the Committee, since this would mean that the Committee has the right to overrule the decisions of the courts. In conclusion he presented the following resolution: "Be it resolved by the High Sejm that the motion of the National Club on the arrest of the ex-deputies and the treatment of those deputies in the Brest prison be rejected as being in part without foundation, in part inadmissible, according to the section 87, of the Polish Constitution."

In the discussion which followed the floor was taken by Deputy ST. STRONSKI, of the National Club. Deputies Liberman and Popiel, he said, were flogged, Baginski was called out to the corridor to receive documents, and was boxed on the ears, Korfanty was ordered to carry a pail and was slapped on the face, on that occasion, four times. Dembski was whipped in the ward, after the lights had been put out. When Dembski showed the doctor the marks of the whipping, the doctor said that there was no medicine for it, iodine being too sharp, and advised him to use plain cold water. Physicians testify now that the prisoners had left the prison in broken health. The speaker recalled that Mr. Slawek says in his book that the Warsaw jail was not so bad, and he recalls

Pilsudski's book entitled "Behind the Bars and Wires of the Prisoner Camps", in which the author praises a German general who protested against violation of Prussian laws by the management of the camp. The prisoners of Brest were starved. Judge Demant, when notified of it, made a face as if he learnt it for the first time. Finally the speaker says he sees no difference between the Polish and the Ukrainian prisoners. He believes that after he learns the charges against the Ukrainian deputies, he might admit that crimes have been committed, perhaps even felonies against the State, but so far he cannot accept as legal such treatment as is at present applied to the Ukrainian prisoners and deputies in Brest. Why should the Primate of Poland call the attention of the President to the dangers of the Brest affair, as he did at the beginning of October? Why should the scientists of the world file their protest in this matter? Poland cannot exist if she is permeated with such spirit. She must be loyal to her civilization.

The objections of the Opposition were answered by MICHALOWSKI, the Minister of Justice. He said that the deputies were arrested in accordance with the law, and that the interpellation can produce no facts which are contrary to the law and decrees in force. All those who were arrested are now free, and they may bring complaints in the regular way, and this they failed to do. A motion in the Sejm is not the proper method. The motion should be rejected.

11 men voted for the motion, 11 against the motion. As the chairman of the Committee refused to use his right to vote, the motion failed.

"Novy Chas", Lviv, January 26, 1931.

#### UKRAINIAN MOTION ON THE BREST AFFAIRS IN THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.

After the motion of the National Club in the Brest affair was voted down in the Judiciary Committee of the Sejm, on January 20, 1931, the Committee started the debate on the motion of the Ukrainian Club, according to which the Government was to investigate the Brest events and to punish the guilty ones.

The report on the matter was presented by deputy PASCHALSKI, a lawyer, member of the B.B., who made a motion that the Ukrainian motion be rejected in the similar manner as was that of the (Polish) National Club.

After him the floor was taken by deputy Dr. STEPHEN BILAK, member of the Judiciary Committee, who spoke in the name of the Ukrainian Club. He declared that he could add no



new facts of maltreatment of deputies at Brest to those already presented as the Ukrainian prisoners of Brest, namely ex-deputies: Tselevych, Paliyiv, Lishchynsky, and Vyslotsky, are still in prison and their lips are sealed. During the discussion of a parallel motion of the National Club individual speakers have already expressed their opinion. The speaker states that in spite of everything the Brest affair has not made upon the Ukrainian public such a profound impression as it has made upon the Polish. The cause of this is that the martyrology of the political prisoners in Poland is nothing new for the Ukrainians. For the Ukrainian prisoners the Brest affair is but another link in the chain of their martyrology. This could be attested even by today's sponsor of the motion of the B.B. club, Mr. Paschalski, who, having been a lawyer for the defense in political trials, knows only too well the fate of Ukrainian political prisoners in Polish jails, not only during the period following the coup d'état of May, but also that period when the reins of the government were in the hands of the Polish National Democrats, who now find in themselves so much sympathy for political prisoners.

After all, the Brest events are pale when compared with the horrifying events of the period of the so-called pacification of Eastern Galicia, events which have fully occupied the minds of the Ukrainian public.

Still even the Brest events have found a painful echo among the Ukrainians. This is not only because the representatives of the Ukrainian people have suffered there directly, but also because human dignity was trampled upon, because the physical and psychic torments of the prisoners were capped by sneers at the name of Ukraine, because into the whirls were carried also passions of racial chauvinism.

In conclusion,—said deputy Dr. Bilak,—I want to warn the gentlemen who today rule the Polish State, that the Brest events have strengthened the system of harmful methods the consequences of which will not be slow in coming. The Brest events have produced anarchy in the territory of Eastern Galicia which manifests itself in the fact that there begins to grow up a new ruling power, which is police commandants. You are mistaken, gentlemen, if you think that a district is ruled by a "starosta" (the supreme officer of the district,—Ed.). No, the entire district is today directed by the commandant of the police. It is they who today decide what is allowed and what is prohibited. They tell already the people quite frankly, "Now here is our law, and we do as we like." The supreme officers of the districts, voyvodas (the

supreme officers of the provinces,—Ed.), even the superiors of the police forces do not exist for them. They soon will outgrow also you, and they will decide whether you have the right to sit here or not.

This, the speaker says, is the root of the Brest scandal, and without considering the formal fate of the Brest motions in the Judiciary Committees and the Houses of the Parliament, he advised the interested parties to stop to consider the very essence of the Brest affair.

After Dr. Bilak concluded his speech, deputy ST. STRONSKI declared that he supports the motion of the Ukrainian Club in the name of the (Polish) National Club.

DEPUTY DR. ZAHAYKEVYCH, of the Ukrainian Club, depicted the uncertainty of the public as to the future attitude of the Government towards the Brest events at the time when the first news of them had arrived. The speeches of the representative of the government "bloc" and of the Minister of Justice have scattered all the illusions that anybody could have had concerning the solicitude of the government about the state of justice in the Nation. It is very difficult to work constructively in this choking atmosphere, it is impossible to investigate any matter, if one is to meet such unconditional and at the same time so completely hollow negation of the most concrete statements. Such an attitude, though easiest of all to take, is a proof that the Government either considers itself as one with these guilty for the Brest affair or has not the courage to take upon itself, in a manly way, the responsibility for what has happened. All the charges are concrete. They are either true or false. There is no third conclusion. Having found this out, we should disclose the causes of that decay of the sense of justice and morality which these events reveal, and which is so profound that no honest man can any longer keep silent. He who has none of that sense should protest at least for political reasons.

The speaker expresses his astonishment that the Minister of Justice retorts to the charges by saying, "You lie!" In such an atmosphere any discussion with the government becomes difficult.

The objections of the government that not the Parliament, but the court is the proper tribunal for settling such matters, are incorrect. The court is the proper tribunal to settle separate, isolated cases of judicial practice. As soon, however, as such cases cease being isolated, but unite into a system, a system of refined lawlessness, then the Parliament is the right tribunal for them.

And the Brest arrests and whatever followed after them on the background of the last election have all the traits of such a system.

The speaker sees no legal foundation for the arrest of the five Ukrainian deputies, of whom deputy Kohut alone has been released, while the others (Vyslotsky, Lishchynsky, Paliyiv, and Tselevych) are still imprisoned. They were arrested allegedly for crimes committed by them many months before their arrests: if they had not escaped during those months, there was no fear that they might do it now. During all the months of their imprisonment at Brest no investigation was conducted against them. No witnesses were heard. They have not heard the charges on which they were detained. Having passed the Calvary of Brest they were handed over to the proper judge of their districts, for investigation.

And then if there were legal reasons for their arrests, why were those arrests carried out in such an illegal manner, amidst brutalities, chicaneries, torments, why were they accompanied by the trampling upon of the most elementary human rights?

Into deputy Vyslotsky's house uniformed and plain-clothes policemen broke at 1 o'clock in the night-time. They hammered first at his doors, ordering him to open. When a door was opened, in ran three men in uniforms, two in plain clothes, a commissar of police and a trooper. These policemen who wore uniforms had torn off their numbers. The Commissar yelled at Vylotsky, "Dress! Thou wilt go with us! Now everything is finished! Marshal Pilsudski won't stand for it any longer!" The automobiles in which he was transported also had no numbers, and they traveled without lights.

Deputy Lishchynsky was an exception in that he was arrested in the daytime. In his absence a search was made in his house, and his two sons were taken to the police station. As soon as he came to his house, two plain-clothes men came after him and took him to the police station. Thinking that he was summoned in the matter of his sons, he went as he was. In the street he was ordered to take a seat in an auto. When the drive seemed too long, he asked where he was being taken. He received no answer. He found himself in Brest. Not one of the Ukrainian deputies knew at the moment of his arrest that he was to be taken to Brest.

We have now detailed information how the Ukrainian deputies were treated in Brest. How they were driven in the night-time out of their beds, driven, amidst curses and beatings, to cold wards, ordered to undress completely, to turn their face to the walls, to hand to the gendarmes the various portions of their clothing, which the gendarmes threw down to the dirty floor and then or-

dered to pick them quickly up and dress. Such searches lasted each time half an hour and more. Some of them were frozen to the bones during each search. Coming back to their wards, they found there their things and straw beddings littering the floor,—after another search in their absence.

The speaker describes other details of the life of the Ukrainian deputies in Brest prison. Deputy Paliyiv was wrapped up in a carpet, taken for an automobile ride, driven for a long time, the automobile stopping several times, and the drivers discussing shooting him. Deputy Vyslotsky, returning to his ward from a visit at the prison physician's, where he reported himself sick, was overtaken in the corridor by a captain, kicked down, beaten with a revolver butt on the shoulders, the captain finally delivering him to a top-sergeant! "Give him such a beating that he should lose once for ever his desire to report to the doctor, or should croak in jail!" As the gendarme began beating Vyslotsky, he started to yell. The captain drew his revolver and compelled him to keep quiet. Deputy Tselevych was condemned to the "dark room" for peeping through a keyhole into the corridor. Such facts are not isolated. They were regular, they were a system.

The Polish deputies were spared one humiliation of the Ukrainian deputies: their racial feelings were not outraged. The Ukrainian deputies were as a rule addressed by the prison authorities in words which are unprintable. The least they heard was, "Thou, Ukrainian hog. Go, thou— . . . son. Ukrainian cattle!" such things were a daily occurrence.

In conclusion the speaker calls attention to the fact that those men had not yet been convicted of any crime. They were merely detained allegedly for the purpose of inquiry. The codes of all the countries in the world differentiate between the position of one who has been found guilty and one who is merely suspected. In civilized countries even one already condemned for a crime is still considered, and treated as, a man. The Brest wardens and guards knew neither laws nor prison regulations; the most elementary conceptions of humanity were foreign categories to them.

When the vote was taken, 12 deputies declared themselves for the motion, 17 against it. Thus the Ukrainian motion was shelved just as was the motion of the (Polish) National Club.



(d)

## THE BREST AFFAIR IN A SENATE COMMITTEE

The Senate Judiciary Committee discussed yesterday the motion of the National Club on the Brest affair. A lively debate lasted from 6 till 11 o'clock in the evening and was attended by a great number of deputies and senators.

The government was represented in the debate by Mr. Michalowski, the Minister of Justice.

The report on the motion of the National Club was made by Senator Poczetowski, of the Club B. B., who in his speech used for the most part the arguments which had been advanced by deputy Paschalski, of the B. B. Club, who reported the matter in the committee of the Sejm.

The speaker took the standpoint that, in opposition to Sejm, the senate has no right even to create a special committee for the purpose of conducting inquests and investigations. In view of this, the Judicial Committee must state that the accusations contained in the part 4, of the motion of the National Club, may not be debated by the Committee. In view of this the Senator makes the following motion:

"The motion of the National Club on the arrests of ex-deputies and on their treatment in the Brest fortress is rejected as unfounded and inadmissible."

MR. MICHALOWSKI, THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, in turn, made the following declaration:

"High committee! I make a motion to reject the motion of the National Club. It contains charges unjust and legally unfounded.

"The proponents, when charging that the arrest of the ex-deputies was contrary to the law in force, disregard completely the art. 167, of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which leaves no doubt that the police were entitled to arrest those suspected of a crime without limitation as to the time or place of the temporary detention.

"The wide argument of the proponents on the allegedly illegal placing of the arrested ex-deputies in the prison of Brest-on-the-Bug is also devoid of all significance. The question was already discussed by several departments of the district court of Warsaw, which, composed of different magistrates, rejected all the complaints of the defense of the arrested ex-deputies in this matter. Those judicial decisions are already above any appeal and may not be adjudicated any more, nor be an object of any discussion in

any legislative body, according to the art. 77, part 2, of the Polish Constitution.

"Not less unfounded is that part of the motion which refers to the isolation of the prisoners from the outside world. This sphere is regulated by the law, which leaves the matter completely within the judge's discretion without any respect as to what kind of case this is, if the evidence is direct or circumstantial, who is the person arrested. Our court practice knows cases in which detention of the arrested during the inquiry lasted five months and even longer.

"Finally, the last part of the motion refers to the alleged fact of beating and torturing the arrested; such acts should be the object of proper complaints to the authorities, leading to the investigation. During the stay of the arrested in Brest, the prison was visited by the prosecutor several and various judges many times, but neither the prosecutor nor the judges received such complaints. Now that the illustrious majority of the accused have been free already several weeks, not even one of the allegedly wronged persons has brought a suit to this very day, and this is the legal and only proper method to clear the matter."

#### DEBATE.

SENATOR GODLEWSKI, of the National Club, was the first to speak in the debate.

The speaker confessed to be disappointed in the speech of the senator who gave the report: The senator continued on the same formal-legal path trod by the deputy who had given the report in the Sejm committee. The speaker expected that in the higher House the matter would be conceived deeper, that the sense of law, justice and human dignity are truths which are not subject to any doubts. He analyzes minutely individual articles quoted by the Minister of Justice and the senator who made the report, proving that there was no reason for their application or that they were applied wrongly.

Passing to the question of placing the civilian prisoners into a military prison of Brest, sen. Godlewski quoted the decree of the President of the Polish Republic, dated April 22, 1928, and the preliminary prison regulations published by the Minister of the Military Affairs, dated October 22, 1919, which proved beyond all doubt that bringing civilian prisoners to Brest and detaining them there is contrary to the law. He rejects the statement of the Minister according to which the senate has no right to enter into this matter . . . According to the art. 2, of the Polish Con-

stitution the Sejm and the Senate have not only the right, but even the duty to see that the government authorities should perform their duties and to start investigations and to call to account all those guilty of excesses. So far no action was started and no investigation was inaugurated.

The senator further depicted the tormenting of the prisoners, expatiating upon the experience of the deputy Deeski. He quoted finally an instruction to the military prisoners of Warsaw, which prohibits all kinds of chicanery, and the Art. 98 of the Polish Constitution, which says that all the punishments accompanied by physical torments are not permitted and nobody may be subjected to them. Finally, he answered the Minister's objection that the persons wronged have failed to bring an action in courts, the speaker remarked that the wronged persons have the right to bring such an action, but they have no duty, as is the case with the public prosecutor, who is obligated by the Art. 2, part. 1, to start such an investigation. The public prosecutor, however, kept silent.

The speaker returns to what he had said at the outset: that the government had tried to create a sham of legality, an artificial structure of commentaries, but behind those legal artifices there hides a monstrous truth about Brest, a live truth, which can be concealed by no artful argumentation. Finally, he refutes the objections of those who think that the motion of the National Club is a running board of the Opposition for their attacks against the government and that State reasons make it imperative to shelve them. There is no doubt that the arrest and detention of the ex-deputies was a political act, and an unusual one. But the main matter is the treatment of the prisoners at Brest, i.e., the moral side of the affair takes the first place. The Brest affair points to the degeneration not only of all the sense of justice but even of all the ethics and morality. How much err those who try to screen the Brest affair behind the considerations of the State! Such a treatment of the affair bring greatest damage to the Polish State. . . . The affair is followed with anxiety by all those for whom the problem of the Polish State was a dream and who had suffered and died for that idea. The Brest methods are not Polish methods; they came to us from the East, they are inimical to the Christian culture in which the Polish people have grown and which constitutes the people's true face.

SENATOR KOPCENSKI, of the Polish Socialist Party, emphasized that the Brest affair stamped on the rights of man. One feels in Poland as if one were in a nightmare. The Brest affair

was an education during the election in all those places where its methods were imitated. This system creates a new type of a Pole, the type of Brest Pole, a la Col. Kostek-Biernacki. Even some members of the "B.B." walk absorbed deeply in their own thoughts, but they have no courage to act according to their conscience, bound as they are by secrecy and command. Keeping such secret obligations is a mistake if not a crime.

SENATOR MARJAN SEYDA, of the National Club: The Minister and the Party "B.B." demand that the Parliament should keep silent on the Brest affair, on the ground that such a discussion would be an unconstitutional act. On the other hand, according to you, the Brest has been in accord with the Polish constitution, for some of you, as for Mr. Anusz, even an ideal, or as he expressed himself, an acme of the political sense of Joseph Pilsudski.

You demand that the Parliament and the public should keep mum, since the protests and condemnations of the Brest affair undermine the authority of the State and of the governmental organs, since we are passing now through a difficult economic crisis, and so on. But according to you, the Brest affair in itself has not undermined the authority of the State and of the governmental organs, neither with us, nor with foreigners. But you better ask Minister Zaleski, who just returned from Geneva, what are the effects of the Brest affair abroad?

You demand that the Parliament and the public should keep mum since this makes the administration of justice more difficult. Well, I'll ask you, gentlemen, what does that administration of justice look like? In what stage are the investigations? What has already been ascertained? Would the Minister give me a clear and well defined answer, since nobody so far knows anything about the administration of justice?

Gentlemen express their astonishment that those who had suffered in Brest do not make motion to the public prosecutor. First, it is the duty of the public prosecutor to start an investigation, out of his own initiative; secondly, the gentlemen know very well why those who had been tormented in Brest refuse to be the complainants, against whom a charge may be easily brought, but witnesses who could make their deposition freely under oath.

When, however, you refuse to start an investigation, then we shall help you out. I call your attention, Mr. Minister, that the "Kurjer Poznanski", of which I am the editor, branded the Brest affair ten times. I appeal to you urgently to start proceedings against my newspaper, in the essence of the Brest affair,



and perhaps will the Minister of Justice also bring an action against us for libel! This would be the best opportunity to hear witnesses of Brest under oath and to ascertain the truth if the Brest affair is a scandal or not.

I may assure you, gentlemen, that if you should not follow this advice, then nobody of you will succeed in suppressing the conscience of the instinct of self-preservation of the people since the people are well aware of the fact that the Brest affair is not an isolated excess, but a link in an entire chain, as it was admitted by Mr. Anusz himself. In my opinion, for instance, the system of elections was still worse in its consequences for the State than the Brest affair. With my own eyes I saw how the people of the Western provinces of Poland cried at the sight of the police, making a passage for the pro-government gangs trying to break up popular meetings. Woe, both to us, and to you, if the lower strata of the society, the street, will raise their voice. It should not be permitted for the sole reason of keeping the power, to push the people and the State into the abyss in the name of the principle, "After me—the deluge." We praise physical force, but only when it is based upon a moral power and carries with it salvation for the people and the state.

SENATOR WOZNICKI, of the Christian Club, alluded to the words of the preceding speaker, stating that in the town of Katowice a lawsuit had been started against the "Gazeta Robotnicza" about the Brest affair, but the government, having heard the first witnesses, withdrew the suit and released the editor. You may bring suits not only against the editors, but also against the members of the Parliament, and we will be glad to stand to your disposal in order to clear up the truth.

SENATOR ROMAN, of the party "B.B.", in a long speech defended the Minister. SENATOR MAKUCH, of the Ukrainian Club, voiced his satisfaction that the Poles had suffered in Brest what the Ukrainians, in his opinion, have been suffering for ten years.

SENATOR POCZETOWSKI, of the B. B., supported his original report. The Minister of Justice did not speak.

#### VOTE TAKEN.

When the vote on the motion to reject the motion of the National Club was taken, the motion was accepted by the votes of the B.B. against 5 votes of the Opposition.

"Kurjer Warszawski", January 24, 1930.

(e)

## THE EPILOGUE

The result of the vote in the Sejm was as follows: 383 deputies voted, of which 382 were valid. 232 deputies, all of the B.B., declared themselves in favor of the motion of the Judicial Committee. Against the motion voted 150 deputies, namely those of the (Polish) National Club, Christian Democratic, the N.P.R., and the racial minorities.

After the result of the vote was promulgated, the members of the Opposition started to shout, "Shame! Shame!" and to sing the song, "When the people rise to struggle!" The Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm called deputy Puzak to order and excluded deputy Dubois, of the Polish Socialist Party, out of the House for one day.

The motion of the Ukrainian Club on the Brest affair was rejected by a regular majority.

"Kurjer Warszawski", in Polish, January 27, 1931.

(The N. P. R., "Narodowa Partja Robotnicza",—the National Labor Party.—Ed.)

## THE VOTING IN THE HOUSE OF THE SENATE

On January 26, at 4:30 P.M. a vote was taken on the motion of a member of the majority to reject the motion of the National Club on the Brest affair. The result was that the motion was accepted by 68 votes of the B.B. Against it voted 24 senators of the (Polish) National Club, of the Peasant Club, Christian Democrats, Polish Socialist Party, and of the racial minorities. Two slips were blank.

"Kurjer Warszawski, January 27, 1931.

*(This concluded the motions to have the Brest affair investigated. The majority of the Polish Parliament crushed every effort in this respect.*

*This was, however, only a partial victory. Outside of this verdict of the Parliamentary majority there was another verdict, which was merely overruled, but not killed. The final settlement of the motions on the Brest affair by the Dictator's steamroller failed to convince the opponents. The Opposition continued to feel just as strongly on the affair, if not more strongly, than they did before the opening of the Parliament.*

*The debate disclosed a profound cleavage in the Polish Parliament. As various deputies expressed it, the majority and the minority spoke each a different language. Senator Godlewski said the minority spoke the language of the Western Culture, under which he understood the language of the respect of the rights of man and of the respect for the law. He inferred that the majority cared little for the respect of the rights of man, and if*

*they were respected by the law, they cared also little for the law. The most they are capable of, he said, is the appearance of legality. He said that the minority stand for the law as disrespect for the law is the first step towards a chaos. If the functionaries of the State, called to carry out the laws, commit illegal acts, the anarchization of society is accelerated.*

*The majority of the Parliament took the stand of power. The Nation must be powerful, and this power must be proved by a powerful majority in the Parliament behind the administration. The government also proves its power by strong acts such as the Brest affair. The protests of the minority are nothing but whinings of weak people who cannot look straight into the face of reality. The Brest affair, Senator Roman, of the B.B., said, will not be a mark of shame on the escutcheon of Poland, but a historic warning that the struggle against political opponents may not go so far as to threaten the power of the State.*

*Polish newspapers siding with the Government, wrote as if the Brest affair had been settled by disposing by the Parliament of the motions treating of the affair. The "Prawda," the weekly organ of Lodz manufacturers, wrote after the conclusion of the Brest debates in the Parliament, that the matter has been closed definitely, once and for all.*

*The call of victory, however, was raised by the government too soon. The split in the Polish Parliament was but a reflection of the profound split in the Polish public, and disposing of the Brest motions by the majority of the Parliament failed to dispose of the Brest affair in the public opinion. That public opinion has been for long very keenly awakened to the Brest affair. At the very beginning of the Parliamentary debates on the Brest affair, the Polish daily "A. B. C." wrote (on December 29, 1930):*

*"The trial has begun. . . We are told to await the conclusion of the court trial . . . But the Brest trial has already begun. Not before a court, but before the forum of the people and history.*

*"The essence of the trial has already been formulated clearly. There stand against each other two sides. One of them considers crime and shame what the other side calls an incidental error in the process of realizing the idea of a strong government, a sad necessity, or even a performance of . . . a difficult task.*

*"The problem is very clear, indeed. The question is whether the crime should be considered a crime or a merit and an example deserving imitation, or if our social life should be ruled by two moralities: one morality destined for the favorites and friends, the other morality bequeathed to us by the traditions of the hordes of Genghis Khan and applicable to political opponents?"*

*The method in which Parliament disposed of the Brest motions failed to calm the minds, but inflamed them still more. The more the*

public realized that it was hopeless to expect from Parliament any real step towards condemnation of the Brest methods, the louder became the public protests. Various meetings were arranged. Professors of various Polish universities, polytechnics, members of scientific societies, and others rose to protest. The convention of Polish Newspapermen, on January 18, 1931, demanded an immediate inquiry and punishment of the guilty persons.

The Polish government dissolved some meetings, dispersed some parades, suppressed some newspapers, but the protest went on. Then it began to threaten to introduce the Brest to stay. The "*Dzien Pomorski*," a pro-government Polish daily, wrote at the beginning of February, "It is absolutely clear to us that further abuse of the Brest affair for the demagogic campaign of lies and slander carried out with the aim to organize a front of outraged humanism which is to be utilized for the purpose of political offensive of cowards, who at the occasion of the Brest adventure of their colleagues resorted to the Tartar custom of hiding behind the backs of their defenseless prisoners." Should the opposition continue in its stand,—writes the pro-government daily, "then the government will be compelled very soon to introduce exceptional methods of combating by the methods of government all kinds of political opposition and to stabilize the methods of Brest for a long time to come, in Poland's political life."

The Socialist Cracow daily "*Naprzod*," however, took another attitude, "The Opposition is not satisfied with the formula, 'The Parliament has spoken, the matter is settled.' The Opposition cannot be satisfied in this case, still less so as, irrespective of the Parliament's composition, the *Sejm* surely does not express the preponderance of the public opinion, which has concerning the Brest affair, an opinion completely different from that of the government and its defenders."

The campaign of mutual slandering went on.

The Polish government and public failed to settle satisfactorily their own problem. —Ed.)

#### 4.

### THE IMMUNITY OF UKRAINIAN REPRESENTATIVES.

(a)

Berlin, Tuesday, November 25, 1930.—The prisoners of Brest-Litovsk are, it appears, to be treated with greater leniency. Several, including Korfanty and Witos, are, I understand, to be transferred to Torun (Thorn), where they will be allowed to have reading matter and other alleviation. It would seem that the idea of sending any prisoners to the notorious gaol, or rather dungeon, of the Holy Cross at Kielce has been abandoned.

The Manchester Guardian, November 26, 1930.



(b)

## AS IF THEY DID NOT EXIST!

*(Under such a title the Ukrainian Lviv daily "Dilo" published on December 21, 1930, an article by Dr. Stephen Baran, the deputy to the Polish Sejm at Warsaw, in which he states that the Poles still continue to treat the Ukrainians as if they did not exist.*

*The article quotes the following incident from the proceedings in the Polish Parliament, an incident which is very characteristic though it does not appear in the stenographic protocols of the Sejm proceedings.—Ed.)*

The Polish Sejm began today (i.e. on December 16, 1930) its budget debates. In the general debate on the budget motions and the expose of Mr. Matuszewski, the acting Minister of Finance, participated, among others, deputy Michael Halushchynsky, who spoke in the name of the Ukrainian Club.

At this occasion there happened a characteristic event. At the moment when Dep. Halushchynsky started for the speakers' platform, Dr. Switalski, the Sejm's Marshal, rose from his seat and handed the chairmanship of the meeting into the hands of the vice-marshal Czetwertynski (an All-Pole). At the same time Mr. Slawek, the Premier, rose from his seat, and after him rose all the Ministers who were present at the meeting, with the exception of Marshal Pilsudski, a fact which happens in the Sejm only on rare occasions. All of them, as if at a given command, left their places empty for the full length of Halushchynsky's speech, and returned to the hall,—though not all of them,—only after the conclusion of Halushchynsky's speech, when other deputies took the floor. Only then, too, was the chairmanship resumed by Marshal Dr. Switalski.

"Dilo", Lviv, December 21, 1930.

*(The behavior of the Polish government group finds its parallel in the behavior of German 'Nazis' deputies in the German legislative bodies.*

*The speech by Deputy Halushchynsky, which gave occasion to the Polish Ministers for the above demonstration, is reprinted below.—Ed.)*

A BUDGET SPEECH DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MICHAEL  
HALUSHCHYNSKY IN THE HOUSE OF THE SEJM

(ON DECEMBER 16, 1930.)

It is in accordance with a well-established parliamentary custom as well as out of a deep realization of our duties as deputies and members of the Ukrainian race, that we raise our voice from

this place during the budget debate. The parliamentary customs tell us to consider this platform to a certain degree a place to declare our stand and reveal our sentiments; that is why we want to be real and just champions of the masses of Ukrainian voters and bring our people a strong faith and give them the encouragement, which they need, for further struggle for their existence not only as individuals but also as a race.

When, 11 or 9 years ago, our liberatory efforts had been defeated by the force of arms, and contrary to the principle of self-determination of races, had been annexed to the Polish Nation, those provinces represented Ukrainian territory, with preponderating Ukrainian majority, a picture of after-war ruin, an equal to which it was difficult to find in any other corner of the world. We state the fact that we have risen out of that ruin, rebuilt our destroyed homes, plowed our fields covered with iron and corpses, and rebuilt all kinds and forms of cultural, educational and economic life, by our own strength, by the force of that historic attachment of our people to their own native soil, and thanks to the indomitable strength and energy of the Ukrainian people. By our own strength, unassisted and unaided by the State, we rebuilt and developed our economic life, deepened our educational and cultural work, covering the whole country with a network of Ukrainian private schools, of reading-rooms of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) and other cultural, educational and economic societies, which are maintained exclusively by the strength of the Ukrainian people, while at the same time they fulfilled their duties towards the State. Not one moment, during the entire period of existence of the reconstructed Polish nation has the Government lent a helping hand to those wholesome efforts of the Ukrainian people, everything we have attained being thus exclusively the fruit of our own work, of our own hands and strength.

I will not enter into the details of the positive and negative relations towards us on the part of those who govern us, but I must state here as a matter of principle, that it should be the duty of the governmental organs to do all they can to satisfy the needs of the population on the State territory. At any rate, the government, while making appropriations, appeals to a very high civic duty. That is why when doing this it should take into consideration the rights and the needs of the population. Otherwise the carrying out of various civic duties will be felt as a burden, a compulsion, and almost never as a fulfillment of a duty flowing out of the creativeness for oneself and others. Whether the people will reach this level of understanding their duties will depend upon the manner

in which the representatives of the government will formulate their relations to those citizens who are not connected with the State by the sentiments of common race.

Now, between the third and the fourth Polish Parliament there took place events which deeply shook the entire Ukrainian race and resounded with a strong echo throughout the entire world, finding a reaction in every Ukrainian heart, no matter where it beats.

Under the pretext of a struggle against sabotages, conducted by conspirators, individuals and organizations, the Polish government, paying no heed to the fact that the leaders of the three Ukrainian parties had separated themselves from those activities, the Polish government, generalizing the authorship of those acts upon all the Ukrainians, although it was clear and subject to no doubt from the very beginning that there were various elements and motives responsible for the sabotages, the Polish government threw into Ukrainian villages punitive expeditions of army and police, which tormented the defenseless people in ways unheard-of in this modern age, by destroying them physically and mentally, by killing their human dignity and material and cultural achievements of many generations of the Ukrainians, in the manner which the world has been used to brand in most severe terms. There fell from the lips of the government the word "Pacification," the results of which laid upon the entire campaign a mark of unheard-of violence, and added a new bloody page to the tragic history of Ukrainian martyrology.

We are prepared that the defenders of the pacification would search for new motives to justify the need and methods of the pacification. They surely will exaggerate the details, and we will surely hear denials of the events that took place during the pacification. But when we shall look upon the pacification, as upon another link in the whole chain of various governmental ordinances, starting with the year 1919, we may understand it to be inspired by one guiding idea, the essence of which consists of the tendency to bar a whole race from the roads to life, to stop the regular circulation of blood, to choke the breathing, to prohibit all the needs which are indispensable for the existence of living organism.

For a number of years, especially during the last two sessions of the Polish Parliament, the Ukrainian Club has pointed out the difficult position of the Ukrainian people, making proper resolutions, expressing their demands asking the Parliament to take into consideration the just political, cultural and economic needs of the Ukrainian people. But all this was a cry in the wilderness. That is the reason why we must raise our voice against all that is being

done to the Ukrainian people in Poland. The Ukrainian people are not treated as equal citizens in their relations to the State. The demands which the State makes upon these people have never found a counter-balance in their rights. The Ukrainian people in the Polish State are but an object condemned merely to listen and to obey, perhaps to be exploited, to serve as ingredients from which the state power should develop, the state power which is conceived as a racial state, and not a state in which all the various races live alongside each other.

Nor can we pass in silence the question of political persecutions, which find their expression in hundreds of political arrests, in detentions, without any real foundation, in police and judicial prisons, of people, accompanied by an exploitation of the difficult position of the victims. In particular, we cannot pass by the arrests of those who were elected the accredited representatives of the Ukrainian people within Poland's borders.

Continuing the stand of the Ukrainian representation in the previous Parliament, we will guard also in this Parliament the rights and dignity of the Ukrainian race.

Notwithstanding the unheard-of reprisals which were practiced during the elections; notwithstanding the fact that the government used all possible methods to make electioneering more difficult for us and to terrorize our people; notwithstanding the fact that the representation of our people has grown smaller in number in each House of the Parliament,—we have come out of this election as a fighting power. The number of those who voted for our list gives us, the Ukrainian deputies, a clear evidence of confidence and faith in the indestructible power of our people. That is why we refuse to be counseled by despair and lack of confidence. Our creative and constructive work will be the outcome of the consciousness of the indomitable strength of the Ukrainian people.

(c)

THE PROBLEM OF THE ARRESTED UKRAINIAN DEPUTIES IN THE COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE

A meeting of the Committee on Legislative Procedure was held on January 22, 1931, devoted exclusively to the two motions of the Ukrainian Club, namely: to suspend the criminal proceedings against deputies Dr. Dmytro Levytsky and Dr. Lubomyr Makarushka, and to suspend the criminal proceedings against deputy Volodymyr Kokhan.



In the name of the Ukrainian Club the meeting was attended by dep. Dr. Zahaykevych, who also had to prepare the report on the matter.

The motion to suspend criminal proceedings against deputies Dr. Levytsky and Dr. Makarushka was reported and discussed first. In his well founded report, which lasted more than one hour, dep. Dr. Zahaykevych proved the formal and essential justice of the motion of the Ukrainian Club. The materials which the Minister of Justice furnished the committee on Legislative Procedure fail to explain satisfactorily what the deputies are charged with, since it is alleged only generally that the deputies, acting as the leaders of the "UNDO", maintained relations with the "UVO", and that they acted abroad to the detriment of the Polish State, in the direction of the revision of Poland's frontiers and breaking away a part of its territory. As a result of such a fault in the letter of the Minister of Justice, the committee is unable to form an opinion as to the acts in which the deputies are alleged to be involved.

As to the essence of the problem, the deputy proved the well established difference between the "UVO" and the "UNDO", emphasizing the falsity and injustice of the charge that the "UVO" and the "UNDO" are identical. As to the charge about the propaganda abroad for the revision of Poland's frontiers, such propaganda is to be considered as absolutely not contrary to the Penal Code since the revision of the frontiers cannot fall under the conception of separating a section of the whole, according to Sect. 58 of the Penal Code. And, finally, this charge, too, is based only on unconfirmed conjectures, invented by spies, and does not justify a final indictment. At any rate, further detention of the deputies for the purpose of inquiry is unjust since all the deputies of the Polish race are free though they will have to appear in court.

Dep. Stronski's motion to demand from the Minister of Justice a supplementary report was voted down. So was also the motion of the Ukrainian Club, in favor of which only Dr. Zahaykevych and the representative of the "PPS" voted; the "B.B." and "N.D." voted against it, while the representatives of the Polish Peasant Party absented themselves.

The motion to stop criminal proceedings against deputy Volodymyr Kokhan was shelved in the same manner.

"Dilo", Lviv, January 25, 1931.

*(The "B.B." is the pro-government party, the "Non-Partizan Block" (of Co-operation with the Government). Its allies, who vote with it against the Ukrainians, are the Polish National Democrats, for many years already*

*known for their jingoism. The alliance in this case is another illustration of the difference between the two groups which was made so much of by the correspondent of the London Times.*

*The difference in the treatment of the Ukrainian and the Polish deputies is significant. As soon as the elections were over, the Government released all the Polish deputies who had been arrested in the Government's campaign against the Polish Opposition.—Ed.)*

### THE SEJM DEBATES THE RELEASE OF THE UKRAINIAN DEPUTIES

The Sejm passed over to the report of the Committee on Parliamentary Procedure on the motions of the (Polish) Opposition clubs to dismiss criminal proceedings and set free the Polish deputies and on the motion of the Ukrainian Club on the discontinuation of criminal proceedings against Dr. Levytsky, Mr. Kokhan and Dr. Makarushka.

The report on all these motions was presented by dep. Ekert, of the B. B., who read the charges raised against the Polish deputies (Messrs. Ciolkosz, Dobroch, Dubois, Ochniej, Sawicki, Smola and Wrona), and then, passing to the Ukrainian deputies, said: Dep. Kokhan is accused: of having, at various meetings, called the Ukrainian people to rise in an armed insurrection and to break away Eastern Galicia from Poland; of having at these meetings described the position of the Ukrainians as slavery; of having charged the Government with a desire to exterminate the Ukrainians, with an unjust division of taxes; and of having called the police bandits. Those acts constitute the crimes of high treason and breach of public peace.

As to the deputies Dr. Levytsky and Dr. Makarushka, the deputy reported that they were charged with efforts to break away southeastern provinces and with the organization abroad of bureaus of anti-Polish propaganda favoring the revision of the frontiers (of Poland).

Deputy Bilak, speaking in the name of the Ukrainian Club, called, among other things, attention to the following: "We believed that the Polish Parliament would preserve the traditions of all the parliaments according to which deputies should not be imprisoned. We do not evade legal responsibility, but we call attention to the fact that such trials are two-edged tools. We want the accused to come into the courts free. In this very last moment we appeal to the House to respect this parliamentary tradition. The charge of high treason is based upon the old Austrian law dating from the period of absolutism. Prof. Makowski, who sits

here among the members of the "B.B.", proved in his scientific works that a democratic nation cannot apply the dead letter of the law in interpreting the law of high treason. All that Dep. Kokhan is charged with is criticism of the Government. Encouragement to acts, with which he is charged, evidently has no results. As to Dep. Levytsky and Makarushka, already today's debate showed that the "UNDO" has nothing in common with "UVO". The charge about the maintenance of propaganda centers against Poland, even if it were true, would still have nothing violent about it. The charge about the support, moral and material, of the Ukrainian Military Organization uses a term which is not in the Penal Code." The speaker concludes with an appeal to the House to vote for the motion of the Ukrainian Club.

After the speeches by Stypulkowski, Dura and another speech by Ekert the vote was taken, by which all the motions of the Opposition were rejected by a majority, in accordance with the motion of the deputy who brought in the report. The deputies of the (pro-government) B.B. and the Polish National-Democrats voted again together against the motions of Dep. Sawicki and all three motions of the Ukrainian deputies.

"Dilo", January 29, 1931.

*(The meeting reported was held on January 28, 1931.—Ed.)*

(d)

#### VERDICT IN THE TRIAL OF EX-DEPUTY

MR. BLAZHKEVYCH

The trial of ex-deputy Dr. Ivan Blazhkevych, the ex-secretary of the Ukrainian Parliamentary representation, which was held before a jury and tribunal of the court of Sambir, was concluded on Thursday afternoon (December 18, 1930.—Ed.)

The verdict was as follows: DR. BLAZHKEVYCH WAS CLEARED OF THE CHARGE OF THE CRIME OF SECTIONS 58 and 59 OF THE PENAL CODE (HIGH TREASON). HE WAS, HOWEVER, CONVICTED FOR THE MISDEMEANORS OF SECT. 302, 305, and 312, OF THE PENAL CODE AND WAS CONDEMNED TO SIX MONTHS IMPRISONMENT, HIS TWO MONTHS IMPRISONMENT DURING INVESTIGATION TO BE DEDUCTED FROM THE SENTENCE, AND THE BALANCE OF THE PUNISHMENT TO BE SUSPENDED FOR FIVE YEARS.

"Dilo", Lviv, December 21, 1930.

## VERDICT IN THE TRIAL OF EX-SENATOR REV. TATOMYR

Our report of yesterday about the verdict against ex-senator Rev. J. Tatomyr, is supplemented by the report that Rev. Jul. Tatomyr was indicted for the crime of high treason (Section 58, of the Penal Code), for breach of public service, for a whole number of other petty offenses against the statute on assemblies as well as for interfering with an officer in the performance of his official duties, for the slandering of officers, and so on.

The jury by 12 votes acquitted the defendant of the charge of high treason, and by 11 and 10 votes, of the charges of breach of public peace, as defined by Sect. 65 of the Penal Code. On the other hand, they confirmed some other questions on the basis of which ex-senator Rev. Julian Tatomyr was found guilty of the misdemeanors defined by Sections 279, 283, 300, and 302 of the Penal Code. In view of this, the tribunal sentenced the defendant for the said crimes to six months imprisonment, the inquisitorial imprisonment to be subtracted from the sentence, and the punishment to be suspended for five years.

It is to be remarked that the punishment imposed is the highest possible for the crimes mentioned. It is therefore strange that the Polish Telegraphic Agency comments in its communique that the court, while meting out the punishment, took into consideration various extenuating circumstances and accordingly made the sentence very "lenient".

"Dilo", December 24, 1930.

(e)

## EX-DEPUTY A. VYSLOTSKY ON TRIAL

Before the district court in Rivne, in Volhynia, a criminal trial was held on January 30, 1931, against ex-deputy Alexis Vyslotsky, indicted for the violation of Sect. 129, part I. and III, of the Russian Penal Code.\*)

The defendant was brought to Rivne from the prison in Zolochiv, by the police. Though his outward appearance showed the results of his imprisonment at Brest, he still looked unbroken in spirit.

The indictment charges ex-deputy A. Vyslotsky with the violation of Section 129, part. I and III, of the Russian Penal Code. According to this section, a crime is committed by any person who publicly utters speeches or recites writings which incite

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\* Mr. Vyslotsky was tried in that part of Ukraine under Poland, which before the war had been under the Russian regime.



the people, 1, to commit a rebellious or treasonable act, and 2, to violate the law or a decree or lawful orders of the authorities. The crime is punishable with imprisonment from 1 to 4 years.

This crime, according to the indictment, was committed by A. Vyslotsky in the following manner:

1) that he delivered at an election meeting held in the village of Dublany, on May 22, 1930, an inciting speech of the following content: "I am coming here to Volhynia for the first time because the Polish government of occupation did not permit me to come earlier . . . owing to the fact that the elections to the Sejm and the Senate, conducted amidst a terror of officials, police and all other kinds of "riffraff", I have come to you to tell you of the abuses committed by the Polish government, which had robbed you of your native land and distributes it among Polish colonists and settlers . . . The Polish government oppresses you with high taxes lest you should raise your heads . . . You will perish unless you rise in the defense of your rights. Such small races as the Czechs, Letts, Lithuanians, and Estonians have already their states, and only we have fallen into Polish slavery. Do not wait for the government, which will do you nothing good, but struggle alone and think. Long live free Ukraine!"

2) that at the same time and place he incited the participants of the meeting to break the law regarding the obligatory learning of the Polish language in public schools, in the following words, "The Polish schools imitate the methods of the German forces of occupation, which had forced the children, at the point of the bayonet, to learn the German language. The Poles, however, knew how to counteract this, by inducing the children to disobedience. That is the way that Ukrainian parents should act now, and the Polish government will be equally helpless against them, as bayonets cannot be used against children." Later on, when the police dissolved the meeting because of a fight that was started at the meeting, he called upon the participants of the meeting to disobey the authorities, by means of the following appeals, "The police have no right to dissolve a meeting! Do not disperse! Fear neither the police, nor their bayonets! Down with the Polish police!"

Even before the indictment was read, the lawyers of the defense made a motion that the case should be transferred to the district court of Zolochiv, which is conducting investigations in other analogous matters. The motion was rejected by the tribunal on the ground that the acts committed in Volhynia are subject to different laws.

The tribunal likewise rejected the motion of the defense that new witnesses be called outside of witness M. Maryniuk, of Dubno, already present in the court, lest the entire proceeding should be based exclusively upon witnesses called by the public prosecutor, namely: Edward Kowalski and Tadeusz Czerwinski, foresters of the State forests; Sroka, Chojnacki and Kanski, state policemen. These witnesses, though constantly contradicting each other's testimony, tried to support the indictment, confirming the contents of the defendant's speeches, as given by the public prosecutor.

Two witnesses, Ivan Dnipruk Poberezhny and Nicholas Maryniuk, supported the testimony of the defendant, who firmly denied that he had used the incriminating words, and affirmed that his speech was distorted by the witnesses for the prosecution.

At the conclusion of the trial Bahrynivsky, the lawyer for the defense, made a motion that the following witnesses be called to testify: 1) Wacław Sieroszewski, Polish writer, to confirm the fact that the Ukrainians in Volhynia are deprived of their own schools; and 2) voyvoda Josewski to testify that the Polish government acknowledges the right of the Ukrainians to independence. These motions, too, were rejected by the tribunal, thus ending the evidence.

Later Stecki, the public prosecutor, delivered a speech, inspired by hatred for the Ukrainian independence movement and for the activities of the Ukrainian deputies, and demanded a severe punishment for the defendant. M. Bahrynivsky, of the defense, gave a splendid legal argument, proving the contradictions in the depositions of the witnesses for the prosecution, and the lack of all legal foundations in the indictment of ex-deputy Vyslotsky, of Section 129, of the Penal Code.

Another lawyer for the defense, Dr. Bilak, gave an excellent reply to the political part of the prosecutor's speech and supplemented the legal arguments of his colleague.

The final word was delivered by the defendant himself, ex-deputy Vyslotsky, in accordance with the law of criminal procedure. He proved conclusively that he had not used, and could not have used, the words he is charged with using at the meeting at which the bulk of the speaker's attention was directed at the propaganda of the "peasant and worker's (communistic—Ed.) party." He concluded by a dignified declaration that he asks for no favors, nor for amnesty, but only demands justice, which is his right.

After a long session, the tribunal announced the verdict, by which ex-deputy Vyslotsky was SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS IMPRISONMENT AT HARD LABOR.

The sentence produced on those present in the court room (who were almost exclusively Poles) a visible impression. It was generally admitted to be very severe. An appeal was made against the sentence by the defense.

"Dilo", February 3, 1931.

*(After all the expressions of opinion are omitted from the above report, the facts as far as they are reported will give an idea of political trials in those provinces now under Polish dominion which were taken from Russia. The influence of Tsarist Russia is visible in the fact that the prosecution could furnish no other witnesses but the police and the foresters of the State forests. This in itself reveals that the Polish government is an artificial stratum of officialdom imposed on the popular masses foreign to the rulers. The tribunal further brushes away all the challenges by the defense, against the premises on which the indictment is constructed, i.e. prevents the defendant from proving that the Ukrainians are deprived of their schools, as the defendant stated at the meeting.—Ed.)*

(f)

#### DEPUTY KOKHAN ON TRIAL FOR HIGH TREASON.

The trial of deputy Kokhan, member of the "UNDO", indicted for high treason, began on February 17, 1931, before the court in Lviv.

The indictment act says: Volodymyr Kokhan, born 1888, in Nanovychi, district of Sokal, a farmer, and deputy to the Sejm, in his speeches which he delivered to the Ukrainian people on July 29, 1928, in Rava Ruska; on August 19, 1928, in Kariv; on September 17, 1928, in Khlivchany; on September 18, 1928, in Zhurivtsi, called those people to an armed insurrection against Poland, in order to take away the south-eastern provinces and construct out of them a Ukrainian State.

The defendant, further, during the speeches delivered in his capacity as a deputy, in Chesaniv, on July 17, 1928; in Pishytsi, on July 18, 1929; in Potylyche, on August 5, 1929; in Verbytsya, on September 18, 1929; in Siltse, on May 12, 1929; in Boratyn, on July 28, 1929; described the condition of the Ukrainian people under Poland as that of slavery, calling upon the people to disobey the authorities; called the Polish authorities halfwits, who tyrannize the Ukrainian people; exposed the government to ridicule; thus arousing in the people contempt and hatred of the Polish

State. Outside of this, Kokhan, during his speech delivered in Verkhata, on June 17, 1928, in the capacity of a deputy, called upon the Ukrainian people to take away from Polish landlords the land without payment and to drive them beyond the San river, and in his speech at a mass meeting in Horodylovychi, on August 4, 1929, the defendant said that the Polish police are all bandits.

By such acts Dep. Kokhan has committed the crime of high treason, according to Sect. 58, and the crime of breach of public peace, according to Sect. 65.

The indictment comprises the alleged anti-state activity of the defendant during the years 1928-1929, when deputy Kokhan, taking advantage of the immunity of his office, guaranteed by the Polish constitution, and expecting complete impunity, toured through various localities of the districts of Rava and Sokal, at mass meetings and religious assemblies, delivered highly anti-Polish speeches, as for instance: in Rava Ruska, on July 28, 1928, during a requiem mass for Ukrainian soldiers fallen in the wars, after an anti-State speech by Rev. Dorotsky delivered at the cemetery, Dep. Kokhan, speaking with a fanatic hatred towards the Poles, compared Poland to "that putrid corpse of Russia, which is liable to fall to pieces very soon"; hence the Ukrainians should prepare for the struggle for the Independence of Ukraine lest the new moment should find them unprepared, as was the case at the downfall of Austria in 1918. The contents of this speech were written down by witnesses Dominik Hasiak and Adam Krywczyk.

On August 19, 1928, in Kariv, at a meeting under the auspices of the "UNDO," Dep. Kokhan said that "Poland in the manner characteristic of a bandit took away Ukrainian provinces, robbed Ukraine of her freedom, and the Polish officials are thieves, black ravens, who gorge themselves at state troughs. That the Polish government oppresses the Ukrainians, taxes them for purposes foreign to the people, for the upkeep of the Polish army, Polonizes Ukrainian schools, colonizes Ukrainian lands. Hence the Ukrainians should consider themselves as an army, under the command of their own generals and officers, the deputies and leaders of the 'UNDO'."

Deputy Kokhan called the people to a struggle against the "bandit Poland, since the moment is coming when Ukraine will rise again." The speech was heard by Piotr Novosielski, Ivan Dobrowolski, Stanislaw Dwornicki, Michael Zaniewicz.

On September 17, 1928, in Khlivchany, dep. Kokhan called upon the Ukrainian people to unite under the banner of the



"UNDO" in order to get rid of the useless guardian by fighting after the manner of Ireland.

After Dr. Swiontkowicz, the deputy supreme officer of the district, dissolved the meeting, deputy Kokhan spoke on, calling: "Shame on you! There will come yet a time when with our heads raised we shall march, from Kiev into Lviv!" and the audience, inflamed by the deputy, called: "Bravo!" Witnesses: Dr. Swiontkowicz, Franz Hemmerling and Leon Brudka.

In his speech delivered in Zhuravitsi, deputy Kokhan called upon the people to stand under the blue and yellow flag of the "UNDO" and to "gain independence for Ukraine even if we have to walk over corpses." These words were heard . . .

In all these speeches deputy Kokhan consoled his audiences by saying that another European war would soon come, when the Ukrainians would cause a civil war, a rebellion behind the backs of the Polish army.

In his speech delivered at Chesaniv, deputy Kokhan complained that the Polish language is used exclusively in the schools and that the spirit of the Ukrainian people is being broken.

In his speech delivered at the meeting of the "UNDO" in Potylychi the defendant said that "the Ukrainian people, 40 millions strong, who are oppressed by Russia, Poland, Roumania, and Czechoslovakia, should rise to an active struggle so that the wheels of history should again pass in a war through the Ukrainian provinces."

In his speech delivered at the meeting in Boratyn, the defendant charged Marshal Pilsudski with having broken faith with the Ukrainians in 1920, oppressing them, giving state credit only to the Poles, and so on. To the police present at the meeting he said, "Among you there are halfwits who will report this to the supreme officer of the district, who spies on every step of ours" . . . .

After the indictment was read, the defendant deputy, Kokhan, deposed as follows:

"I declare that I feel completely innocent. I belong to the party of "UNDO," which, to be sure, has set for itself as its aim the struggle for independent Ukraine, but has in its program no plank causing or organizing against Poland an uprising in the present political situation. I acted within the scope of the platform of the "UNDO," which conducts organized, positive work. Had I believed in the expediency of terror and rebellion, I should not have joined the "UNDO." Yes, I am a Ukrainian, and as such I wish independence for Ukraine in all the Ukrainian territory,

and I believe that this independence will become a reality. At meetings, I have spoken of Independent Ukraine as an ideal. I have said that in 1918, we were too weak and not prepared in cultural respect, and that therefore we should organize and grow economically and culturally, so that we may correct the errors of our past.

"All that I am charged with in the indictment is either distorted or invented. I know that in the administrative offices in our lands there are committed various abuses, and I have spoken against them and I have criticized the state budget, out of which a sum absolutely too large goes for the maintenance of the army. We all know that under the Austrian regime the Ukrainians had in Galicia 3,000 Ukrainian schools, and now we have only 760, and I have called upon the audiences to struggle for the Ukrainian schools by legal and constitutional means. It is a notorious fact that misery reigns in the villages, that the people lack land, that the villages are overcrowded, so I have said at meetings that the Ukrainian people should fight, by legal means, to bring about the transfer of the lands of great landlords into the hands of the peasantry without payment, as set forth in the platform of the "UNDO." I criticized the Polish agrarian policy which colonizes the Ukrainian provinces at a time when our provinces are overcrowded, and I consider that the great landed estates should pass only into the hands of the local populace, who have worked those lands for centuries, from the very days of serfdom."

The president of the tribunal interrupted, "There are no great landed estates in the West, only such land parcels as may be jumped over by a rabbit, and when the great landed estates are broken up in the borderlands, it is no wonder that colonists come here from the West."

Deputy Kokhan deposes: "I compared the people to an army. I said that we should be disciplined as an army; however, it was not of a rebellion that I spoke, but of active work and such struggle as is possible today. When I called upon the Ukrainian people to unite under the banner of the "UNDO" in the struggle for a better future, is this a crime? I have said at my meetings that Eastern Galicia has no autonomy, even such as she had under Austria, that she has neither provincial nor district autonomous bodies, no agricultural institutes, no state credit. I said that the fate of the Ukrainian people lies in their own hands, that neither the Polish government nor the Polish State is able to help them, even if they wanted to. When I am charged with having spoken of the march from Kiev to Lviv, then

I have to state as follows: I rose against the internationalist tendencies among the Ukrainians, by pointing out that beyond the Zbruch river there is no independent Ukraine; that we cannot place any hopes in Kharkiv, and that only when Kiev will again become the capital of the Ukrainian State and when we will unite under the national banner, shall we enjoy a better fate\*).

In that speech of mine I aimed at disproving the communistic attitude and replacing the class outlook by a national one.

"When I mentioned Ireland, it was because I pointed out that some races had to fight for their freedom for hundreds of years and that the Ukrainian people should not lose courage because of momentary failures.

"The deputy of the supreme officer of the district, on hearing the word 'Ireland,' dissolved the meeting. I spoke in general terms about the enslavement of 40 millions of Ukrainians, and not especially of Poland. As to the situation in Poland, I have spoken at meetings of the wrongs done to the Ukrainians in the sphere of education, saying that we are deprived of universities, teachers' colleges and gymnasiums. The indictment charges me with calling the police bandits. It is true, however, that I termed as bandits those policemen and peasants who had ruined the old church of Pavlovychi, who had taken part in chopping the ikons, breaking crosses, and so on. I termed as halfwits those police spies who file with the police their lying reports against innocent Ukrainians.

"As to the charge that I said at a meeting that Pilsudski cheated the Ukrainians in 1920, and continues to oppress us, his former allies, I stated that the Ukrainians, during the war, expected too much help from other people: first from Austria, then from the Germans, and finally, in 1920, from Pilsudski. I said that all such expectations have brought the Ukrainians nothing but disappointments and failure. Therefore I called upon them to count only upon their own strength." . . .

Dr. Lipsz, public prosecutor, delivered this speech:

"Gentlemen of the jury: The trial of deputy Kokhan begins a whole series of trials against the deputies who are members of the "UNDO," the trials to be held in the next session of the court. This is a trial of a deputy, for crimes committed during the valid tenure of office by the deputy. This is a hundred per cent

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\* The Ukrainian nationalists have considered Kiev the capital of Ukraine. The communists proclaimed Kharkiv as the capital of the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.—Ed.

political trial, which has in it nothing criminal in the nature of sabotages. We are to try a person, and not only his deeds. Deputy Kokhan is a son of common people with intermediary education, who has attained the position of a deputy.

"The defendant and the defense attempted to convince us that the 'UNDO' is a legal party. Formally, that party is a legal one, but as a matter of fact, the 'UNDO' sets as its aim an independent Ukraine, and many deputies of the 'UNDO' will find themselves before the court charged with high treason. Deputy Kokhan is no terrorist, but a politician, who took advantage of his constitutional rights and his privileges as a deputy for anti-State activity. We are not putting on trial the 'UNDO,' which is nothing to us here. Kokhan is a man of unusual intelligence and talents. He is almost a self-taught man, but many a university graduate could envy his skill and knowledge. The number of crimes committed by him is terrifying. His attitude in politics has always been anti-Polish, as is well attested to in an article by him which was published in a German pamphlet that was found during a search in the office of the Ukrainian Club in the Sejm, after the arrest of Dr. Dmytro Levytsky. The authors of other articles are Ukrainian deputies, and they will all find themselves on the accused bench.

"The tendency of this pamphlet is to hurt Poland abroad. Whatever is written in that pamphlet was said also by Kokhan in all his meetings. Germany and Ukraine are dissatisfied with the Versailles Peace Treaty, and the authors of that pamphlet strive to increase the German-Ukrainian friendship according to the slogan: "Your enemy is my enemy, hence we are friends," and this friendship is needed for the struggle against Poland.

"In that pamphlet deputy Kokhan openly defends saboteurs and terrorists and justifies their activities abroad. All these, of course, are crimes according to sect. 58 and 65 (a) and (b) and 300 and 302. The spoken word is a great and sacred thing. All ideas are spread by word. Christianity is spread by word, and deputy Kokhan spread by means of words the idea of a struggle against Poland for an independent Ukraine, knowing the power of the word. Deputy Kokhan committed the crimes of high treason at four meetings, of breach of public peace at other meetings and of arousing hatred towards the State and the Government. To evaluate and define the degree of those crimes is very difficult, since the majority of the witnesses have already forgotten what deputy Kokhan had said at his meetings two years ago. The



title of 'grunt'\* is very unpleasant for a Ukrainian, and hence the Ukrainian witnesses, fearing such opprobrium and its attendant persecution, claimed to have forgotten everything, or even defended deputy Kokhan, or maintained that Kokhan had praised Poland. A public prosecutor is an element in the administration of justice and I take into consideration everything that was said for and against Kokhan. The fact is, however, that deputy Kokhan, speaking in Rava Ruska, appealed to the Ukrainians to rise against Poland, and this was after Rev. Dorotsky had prepared their sentiment by taking an oath at the graves of dead Ukrainian soldiers. Ukrainian historians state that the failure of the Ukrainians in 1918 was due not only to the enemies, but also to an insufficient preparation of the Ukrainians, to the lack of will power, tension and desire of national independence in the people, and deputy Kokhan has held his speeches in this spirit, in order to cure the soul of the Ukrainians of those diseases of 1918.

Deputy Kokhan's speech at the meeting at Kariv had still more the character of high treason. The same is true of the meeting at Khlivchany, where the deputy called upon them to march from Kiev to Lviv.

"It is irrelevant for us whether Kokhan orients himself towards Kharkiv, or towards Kiev; all we care for is that Kokhan wanted to march from the blue and yellow Kiev to Lviv. The whole question hinges on Lviv. I am not sure myself whether deputy Kokhan said in the village of Zhuravitsi that the Ukrainians must march to their freedom even over dead bodies, if necessary, but it is a fact that he spoke of the independence of Ukraine, and this is most important. Even such a cautious witness as Bakun admitted that deputy Kokhan had said, "We must break Ruthenian provinces away from Poland."

"At all other meetings deputy Kokhan said to the peasants that the sovereignty of Poland in Eastern Galicia is in itself the source of all the wrongs done to the Ukrainians.

"The depositions of the police deserve credit since the police have no reason to be personal enemies of Kokhan. The 'UNDO' itself stands on the principle that they will speak of conciliation with the Poles only as 'equal with equals,' which is when they will have a Ukrainian state.

"Deputy Kokhan said in Potylycha that a 'grunt,' who is a friend of Poland, does not deserve a handshake, and this proves

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\* Ukrainian term for 'scab,' meaning the guttural noise of a hog.

his animosity towards Poland in general. He spoke also that the Polish government is the cause of all 'this slavery which should be abolished.' . . .

"The defense tries to convince us that deputy Kokhan spoke only of a legal struggle, but deputy Kokhan always mentioned the year 1918, and called upon the people to prepare for another 1918, and it is well known that in 1918 the Ukrainians fought not with law, but with cannons and machine-guns. It is true that Dep. Kokhan called upon the people to organize themselves into dairy cooperatives and reading-rooms, but all this he considered merely the means, the basis, or condition for a repetition of another armed struggle of the kind of 1918. The police did not expell the Ukrainians from the cemetery in Rava Ruska because Kokhan's speech was illegal, but because the Ukrainians might disobey the policeman or beat him up, and the policeman feared being compromised.

"The law says that a deputy is immune and that he could be arrested only for common crimes, and not for political crimes, but when deputy Kokhan calls upon the people to join in an uprising similar to that of 1918, he arouses hatred towards Poland, he abuses the privilege of immunity for anti-Polish purposes, he forgets that he is a deputy and is obliged to be a model of Polish patriotism, having the double duty of legality and loyalty towards Poland. The verdict should prove that not even a deputy, and a deputy less than anybody else, is entitled to sap the foundations of the Polish State!"

#### The speech of Dr. Starosolsky.

"High Tribunal and Gentlemen of the Jury: I am speaking to you in Ukrainian, but I believe that in this trial we would find a spiritually common speech. The matter before the court is the higher weal of the two races, since such a trial in which the freedom of speech, or political freedom, is at stake, does not decide the fate of Kokhan, but the fate of the entire country. You are here trying not Kokhan, but a deputy, a representative of the people, who merely carried out the will of his constituency and did only what he had promised them to do. Here is the trial of the question of the immunity of representatives, the struggle for the sacred right of liberty, the achievements of European culture and democracy. Gentlemen: save those possessions which are now threatened, defend the law of the constitution regarding the immunity of representatives. In defense of the common possessions, now threatened, I'll find with you a common language, though I am using an idiom foreign to you: \*)

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\*) The jury were Poles.—Ed.

"Deputy Kokhan's chief crime consists of his having wished and furthered the independence of his people. Judge Angelski used to emphasize again and again in this very court that to profess an ideal of the independence of one's own people is no crime. A race not striving to attain independence is no race, ceases being one. This should be understood by you, Poles, better than by others, that the natural law in the life of the people demands a striving for independence, as every true son of his people dreams about it as have dreamt Polish poets: 'I want to raise them, to make them happy, to astound with them the whole world.' \*

"Dep. Kokhan has said at meetings that there may come a moment similar to that of 1918, and that the Ukrainians should be ready. But is it a crime if the Ukrainians are to emancipate themselves from all fatalism, passiveness, and to desire to create their own fate for the emergency of another political change? Striving to be spiritually ready, to be active, to turn away from the hopes of other people's help is a natural, healthy, phenomenon, and not a crime. Not only Kokhan, but all of us, Ukrainians, repeat: "Let us be ready! Let us not sleep! Stop accepting life passively!"

"Nothing is eternal, and we cannot be sure of what is coming tomorrow!

"The people should be active in every situation! If you are not partisan, then admit that deputy Kokhan has done what every Ukrainian should do.

"Everybody has the right to express his thoughts, the duty to point out wrongs, since otherwise what would the political life of the State look like? There is no party which does not call upon the people to struggle for a better life.

"Dep. Kokhan spoke of autonomy, that the supreme officers of the districts and the police should be Ukrainians. Gentlemen, if this is high treason, then condemn Kokhan. If he called, 'Give us Ukrainian schools! Do not colonize Ukrainian provinces, do not transfer Ukrainian teachers into Poland!' —was all this hatred to Poland? No, this was merely his performance of the civic duties! He, who demands autonomy, does not break away a portion of the state. It so goes in this world that some of the people rule, and others criticize, since this is the essence of freedom, and without it everything would be dead. If deputy Kokhan spoke at the grave of fallen Ukrainian soldiers, if he spoke of them with sentiment, piety, is this a crime? The days of the

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\* A quotation from some Polish poet was delivered in Polish.—Ed.

great upheaval of 1918, must remain in the souls of the Ukrainian people as a sacred remembrance, and those who went to death for their ideal deserve our affection!"

### The Verdict.

The jury denied by a majority of votes the 17 questions (referring to high treason) and confirmed 2 questions as to Sect. 300 and 302. On the basis of this verdict the tribunal sentenced Deputy Kokhan to three months' imprisonment, his detention in inquiry to be subtracted from the punishment. Deputy Kokhan at once left the prison.

*(The above report was taken from the "Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, February 19, 20, 21, and 22, 1931. The depositions of the witnesses were omitted as they evidently played only a subsidiary role in the pleadings. The whole issue was fought rather on the basis of general principles of the Ukrainian-Polish relations.)*

*The trial is a supplement to the discussion on such matters as: intransigence, separatism, loyalty, which were touched by the London Times correspondent.*

*The trial is a significant illustration of the foundations for the Polish charge against the Ukrainians of high treason, a charge quite important in view of the public prosecutor's announcement that more Ukrainian deputies of the "UNDO" would be placed on trial on the same charge.—Ed.)*

## 5.

### THE "PACIFICATION" OF UKRAINE IN THE POLISH PARLIAMENT.

#### (A)

#### MOTION ON THE PACIFICATION IN THE POLISH PARLIAMENT.

At the session of the Sejm, on January 16, 1931, a motion was filed with the Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm, by the Ukrainian Club, on the events which had taken place during the pacification of Eastern Galicia.

The motion was filed as an ordinary one since the Ukrainian deputies could not secure the number of signatures necessary for filing an urgent motion (which requires 75 signatures).

*"Dilo," Lviv, January 21, 1931.*



WHY HASN'T THERE BEEN BROUGHT ANY MOTION OF  
"PACIFICATION" AS YET?

(ik) As we have already reported, the Ukrainian Club thought it its first work in the Sejm to file an urgent motion on the "pacification", as it hoped to find without difficulty the necessary number of signatures in those circles of the Polish Opposition, who have condemned the "pacification". The Polish Opposition, however, though not refusing in principle to sign the pacification motion, demanded first to be shown the text of the motion for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the data contained in the document which comprises several score pages in print. They are still getting acquainted with it so that the motion could not have been brought yet. The matter may be put off till after the holidays.

"Dilo", Ukrainian daily, Lviv, December 18, 1930.

(*"ik" is the signature of the "Dilo's" special correspondent at Warsaw.—Ed.*)

## THE UKRAINIAN MOTION ON THE "PACIFICATION".

(ik) In view of the fact that making the motion on the "pacification" in the Sejm became impossible, the Ukrainian Club decided to bring the motion on the "pacification" in the Senate.

The motion is called, "THE MOTION OF THE UKRAINIAN CLUB ON THE EVENTS OF THE PACIFICATION OF THE VOYVODSHIPS OF LVIV, STANISLAVIV, AND TARNOPOL IN THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1930. THE SENATE IS REQUESTED TO PASS THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION: THE SENATE URGES THE GOVERNMENT TO INVESTIGATE, IN THE SHORTEST TIME POSSIBLE, THE FACTS AND THE EXTENT OF THE EXCESSES COMMITTED BY THE ORGANS OF THE GOVERNMENT AT THE OCCASION OF CARRYING OUT THE SO-CALLED PACIFICATION, ON THE SCENE OF THE EVENTS MENTIONED IN THIS MOTIVATION. THE SENATE FURTHER URGES THE GOVERNMENT TO ASCERTAIN THE DAMAGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE ACT OF THE PACIFICATION ITSELF, REMUNERATE THOSE WRONGED AND TO MAKE A REPORT TO THE SENATE."

("Dilo", the Ukrainian daily, Lviv, December 19, 1930.)

*This is the first practical result of the weakness of the Ukrainian representation in the Polish Parliament,—weakness brought about, to a considerable degree, by the Polish election laws, on the one hand, and by the electoral practices of the Polish government and public, on the other.*

## (B)

THE TEXT OF THE UKRAINIAN MOTION ON  
"PACIFICATION"

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MOTIVATION

Since the month of August, 1930, the voyvodships of Lviv and Tarnopol as well as a section of the voyvodship of Stanislaviv have become the scene of events which earned a wide notoriety not only within Poland but also outside of it. These are the mass burning of Polish estates on the one hand, and the official police and military punitive expeditions on the other hand.

The Ukrainian political factors have well realized that the sabotages carried out by the Ukrainian terrorist and conspiratory Military Organization could bring about wholesale reprisals on the part of Polish state authorities, who identify the perpetrators of the revolutionary acts with the entire Ukrainian public, the more so as a section of the Polish press had started a mad battue in that direction. For this reason in the very first days of the month of September the largest Ukrainian political party U.N.D.O. (Ukrainian National Democratic Union) took a public stand in the matter of arsons and the so-called acts of sabotage. The U.N.D.O. stated with full resoluteness that in those acts of incendiarism and sabotage the organized Ukrainian public do not take part and took action to dissociate themselves from similar activities. Investigating the sources of these acts, the U.N.D.O. has become convinced that only a certain percentage of these acts can be attributed to the Ukrainian Military Organization or to anarchistic individuals of the Ukrainian race, and that in other cases all the evidence pointed either to the provocatory activities of various factors having for their purpose the justification of reprisals upon the Ukrainian people and Ukrainian institutions, or to the speculative practice of grain cultivators to remunerate themselves with insurance for the losses caused by low prices of grain.

The atmosphere becoming more and more close, the leaders of the U.N.D.O. decided to abandon their waiting attitude and to utter their opinion about the arsons and the sentiments connected with them so that both races be warned of the threatening consequences.

The voyvoda of Lviv was notified of this position of the U.N.D.O. by a special delegation, which comprised: Mr. Michael Halushchynsky, then the vice-speaker of the Senate, and Mr. Vladimir Celevych, then a deputy to the Sejm. The result of the

conference was that the party was to take a negative attitude to incendiarism and to publish it. They aimed also at bringing to reason those individuals who participated in incendiarism out of idealistic motives, believing this to be a revolutionary activity; they wished to bring to their consciousness that such incendiarism could only result in profit for the enemies of the Ukrainian race.

In the very next issues the "Dilo", the semi-official organ of the U.N.D.O., started a campaign intended to elucidate the above questions from all sides. The party could not be blamed for the events any more than could the entire Ukrainian population.

As incendiarisms did not stop, but began to increase, as Polish reprisals began to threaten seriously the property and life of the Ukrainians and their cultural achievements, the government naturally was expected to do the utmost to discover those guilty in order to put an end to the further anarchization of the country. But the government, instead of searching for firebrands, took the position that for the guilt of those unknown and undiscovered persons should answer the entire Ukrainian race, that whole villages should be turned into wastes, that defenseless people should run before the organs of safety to the fields and forests.

In the second half of September the government began the so-called pacification, which consisted in the dispatching of regular punitive expeditions. Incidents connected with those punitive expeditions of the police and the army pass not only the limits of the legal conception of responsibility but surpass the pictures known from the annals of the world war and recall long forgotten events of past ages. In the very beginning of that pacification the following details stood out:

1. pacification was an explicit echo of the demands of the most chauvinistic National-Democratic circles of the Polish society at their meetings, starting with the demand of mass responsibility of the entire Ukrainian race for the actions of its irresponsible individuals, who, as a rule, have nothing in common with the entire organized Ukrainian public, and ending with the official liquidation of the Ukrainian cultural institutions;

2. reprisals were directed at entire villages and districts in which there were no cases of incendiarism, but the populace of which furnished guards as soon as ordered by the government and did all in their power to stop the evil, and the reprisals were directed at them for the sole reason that they showed a higher level of cultural development;

3. the guilty were sought by the government only among the Ukrainians, and criminal reprisals were never investigated by the government;

4. government circles ascribed Polish reprisals to the provocative activities of Ukrainians;

5. the entire action of the Polish organs of safety and the punitive expeditions was characterized by hatred towards everything Ukrainian, a hatred which went so far as to inflict most painful insults upon their national and patriotic sentiments.

On the whole, the pacification and all the official activities connected with it partake of the character of reprisals and not of official investigation of crimes.

The collected information about the pacification permits us not only to give a picture of the whole procedure of pacification in a large number of localities, but also to ascertain certain general traits characterizing the whole enterprise and its consequences. Among the conspicuous incidents numbering several hundred, of which the Ukrainians have more or less detailed reports and minutes deposited by the witnesses thereof, are to be included the following:

1. tearing down of signs and demolition of the furnishings of Ukrainian local and cultural institutions in the "pacified" villages, (sometimes also in towns), such as reading rooms of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), cooperative stores, cooperative dairies and the like;

2. persecution of the individuals participating or even employed as functionaries by various local Ukrainian institutions, cultural and economic, without respect to their political opinions, even when they took no part in politics;

3. persecution of peasants for declaring themselves to be of the Ukrainian race and forcing them to term themselves "Ruthenians";

4. tearing down and breaking of portraits and busts of Shevchenko as well as of all pictures of patriotic or family import, this being accompanied by derision of Ukrainian national sentiment;

5. destruction of material property of the persons whose houses were raided; destruction of all the house furniture; breaking of windows; mixing of various kinds of grain; ripping of thatches, and the like; also destruction of entire villages by the levying of ruinous wholesale contributions in the form of a fixed amount of grain, hay, products of consumption and money payments in cash;



6. flogging of people, which, in most localities, was carried out according to a list of persons prepared beforehand and brought by the leaders of the expedition,—the flogging in many cases taking on the form of a massacre characterized by truly unheard-of cruelty;

7. in many, though not all, cases, the autonomous communal council was given to choose between the arrival of another prepared sheet, in which the commune "out of their own free will" liquidates all the Ukrainian institutions on the territory of the commune and assures the government of its loyalty, which they are ready to prove by their willingness to vote for the list of candidates of the BB, or not to participate in the elections;

8. while police detachments showed relative tolerance in a few localities towards the country people, the military detachments treated the people with unusual brutality;

9. in many cases, pacification was carried out in communes on whose territory there had been no acts of sabotage, and some localities were visited by detachments of police or soldiers several times within a short period.

We are offering herewith as evidence a certain number of detailed descriptions of pacification, with a remark that this is only a trifling portion of what has really taken place during the pacification in the individual districts of Eastern Galicia.

#### DISTRICT OF LVIV.

1. On September 16, 1930, about 9 o'clock in the morning there entered the village of Gaje\* near Lviv a squadron of 14th regiment of Uhlans. Before they reached the village, the Uhlans whipped with knouts several peasants driving into the fields. They beat them under the pretext that they failed to bare their heads before the banner. Having arrived in the village, the commandant of the squadron summoned the mayor; the mayor being absent, the vice-mayor came. He was notified by the commandant that a levy is imposed upon the village to be paid within two hours. Should the commune fail to raise the levy, the Uhlans will go into the village to collect it. He demanded thus 35 "korets" (140 bushels) of oats, 700 eggs to each of the two military kitchens, 2 hogs of 200 kg. each, a yearling heifer, 500 liters of milk, 100 kg. of rice, 25 kg. of sugar. The commune, knowing what to expect should the soldiers search the village, collected the levy.

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\*The village of Hayi (Polish spelling: Gaje), situated near Lviv, was visited by foreign correspondents. Cf. Mr. Negley Farson's report, verifying, among other things, the death of Michael Tiutko, from flogging.—Ed.

Rice, millet, and tobacco were furnished by the local cooperative store, the rest by peasants.

The Uhlans were billeted in the village. They ordered men and women to clean their horses' and harness. Out of a list which they had brought with them individual peasants were called by the soldiers and taken to the barn of Andrukh Melnyk, laid upon the bench, one Uhlan held the victim by the head, another by the legs, and others flogged him until he swooned. Then water was poured over him to revive him and flogging resumed. The worst beating was received by Ivan Romanyshyn, the librarian of the reading room of "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), who was revived with water several times; Luke Dmytryk, the clerk of the cooperative store; Michael Tiutko, Hryn's son, who died as a result of that flogging, on October 18, 1930, having received 500 blows. More or less severely flogged were: Nicholas Mandzevich, Ivan Romanyshyn's son Vasil and daughter Sofia, who defended their father; Ivan Yavny, Peter Vovk, Peter Kundyra, Euphrosina and Vladimir Vovk, the children of the village mayor; Yurko Gela, Cyryl and Stephen Dmytryk, Tymko Pankiv, Yaroslav Lysy, Ivan Shuplat and Damian Prus.\*)

In the cooperative store of "Buduchnist" (Future) the furnishings and goods were destroyed (the goods were covered with some powder).

The second time the military expedition came to this village on October 5, 1930. As soon as the peasants saw the detachment from a distance, they fled to neighboring villages or hid in forests and fields. During the raid at the house of the local parson, Rev. Sokhotsky, a bomb was found, which had been positively planted there, if it really was a true bomb. The priest was arrested. After these raids, carried out by the expeditions, the village presented a picture of complete ruin. We do not expatiate on the material losses of individual persons, the losses being a direct result of the raids.

2. (*The "pacification" of the village of Hermaniv is described.*)\*

3. (*The "pacification" of the village of Pedberiztsi.*)

4. (*The "pacification" of the village of Chyzhyki.*)

5. (*The "pacification" of the village of Brodki.*)\*

6-15. (*The "pacification" of the villages of Stary Yarychiv, Novy Yarychiv, Rudno, Znesinya, Zashkiv, Myklashiv, Hlukhovychi, Wynnyky, Dmytrovitsi and Porobno, all in the district of Lviv.*)\*

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\* To shorten the document many ugly details are omitted.—Ed.

## DISTRICT OF BIBRKA

Punitive expeditions passed through the villages of the district of Bibrka three times. They started on September 14, 1930, and were carried out by detachments of the Uhlan regiment at Yazlovets, stationed at Lviv. According to the information collected by us, those first expeditions passed, on September 9 till 27, 1930, through the following villages: Zahirechko, Dobrivlany, Horodyshe, Sukhriv, Molotiv, Molodynche, Deviatnyky, and others. Almost in every village grain and other food products were levied and people were flogged and cruelly maltreated. Each detachment brought with it an order prepared beforehand by the police.

We will stop to consider in detail the punitive expedition in the village of Hrusyatyche. On September 14, 1930, there came to the village a detachment of Yazlovets' Uhlans. The commandant of the detachment, whose name was probably Neumann, ordered the villagers to furnish the detachment within two hours with: 2500 kg. (about 5000 lbs.) oats; 3 hogs, 100 lb. each; 25 kg. vegetables, 150 kg. (300 lb.) of potatoes; 100 loaves of bread; 100 liters of milk; 1220 eggs, 5 meters (7 yards) of linen, and so on. When the mayor of the village satisfied the demand, and brought everything, the commandant addressed the members of the village council gathered in the school thus, "I have to thank you for furnishing my men and horses with the food on time, and you will be paid for it by your friend, the German."

At 7 o'clock in the evening the mayor was ordered to have all the members of the village council in the school by 8 o'clock. When they appeared, they were ordered to stand at attention and were kept in that position a long time.

At midnight the mayor was ordered to point out those inhabitants of the village who had in their possession arms, and when he said he had no information of such people and could name nobody, then he was ordered by the said commandant (Neumann?) to be taken out by 5 soldiers into a neighboring garden, where he was knocked down upon a stump and two soldiers gave him about 50 blows.

In the same manner the soldiers flogged with canes the following inhabitants of the same village: Michael Basarab, Michael Veres, Alexander Basarab, Peter Vysochansky, Alexander Turchyn, Micholas Burbelas, Vasyl Voytovich, Michael Oleynyk. On the following day, which was September 15, at 5 o'clock in the

morning, the inhabitants of the village were driven together out of their huts to stand along the highway, dressed in their Sunday best, and to bid the departing detachment a hearty farewell.

When the peasants, wounded by flogging, headed by the mayor, appeared on the following day in the office of the supreme officer of the district (starosta), with a complaint and a written resignation of the members of the village council, the "starosta" refused to accept them, and merely declared through his commissar, Mr. Bilinsky, that he is too occupied with elections, that he has nothing to do with the army, and that in the matter of floggings by soldiery they have to appeal to military authorities.

In the village of Horodyslavychi Uhlands demolished the reading rooms of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), destroyed its furnishings, books, pictures, and broke the windows. The methods which were used to torture peasants of this and other localities reminds one of the Middle Ages. They boxed the ears of the peasants, beat them with rifle butts, whipped them with knouts upon naked body, even upon naked stomachs, and besides, forced peasants to box each other's ears.

It seemed that these punitive expeditions of military detachments would end the pacification of the district. But already on September 25, 1930, there arrived large detachments of state police to raid and to further pacify the district. This second period of pacification lasted approximately till October 9, 1930. They passed through the village of Lashky Dolishni, Lashky Horishni, Borynyche, Drohowyche, Ostriv Chorny, Ruda, Otnyovychi, Duliby, and others. In every locality all the Ukrainian institutions and individual persons were searched, and the property of the people was destroyed, their grain of various kinds was poured onto one heap or scattered about. Dilled pickles or sour kraut was poured on such a heap and then mixed with dirt. Sheaves in stacks were scattered, the peasants were ordered to untie sheaves. Great material damage resulted from this for the population. At every search people were whipped.

*(The Interpellation further describes the raid of the town of Bibrka and the second pacification of various villages in the district of Bibrka. The pacification of the village of Dervatnyky is described in detail. The village was "pacified" three times: by soldiers, by police, and again by soldiers.)*

In the cooperative dairy of the village of Lany about 200 kg. of butter were requisitioned without payment, and a barrel of cream



was poured into a ditch. All the machines for making butter were broken, and the persons employed in the dairy, Monastyrsky, Palyvoda, Chorny and others, were flogged.

*(The pacification of the village of Sarnyky is described in detail. Michael Zhukevich received 800 (eight hundred) strokes.)*

After the flagellation each of the victims was forced to sign a declaration that he implores the Polish authorities for the dissolution of all the Ukrainian institutions, promises to vote for the government list of candidates during the election and that he had not been whipped or wronged by anybody. Such declarations the people were forced to sign in the villages of Sokolivka, Kolohury, Pyetnychany, Podmanastyr and Lany. The people were forced to sign declarations that the soldiers had levied no contributions.

In the village of Velyki Khlibovychi all persons were whipped on October 11, 1930, in the presence of a lieutenant commanding a detachment of soldiers and a military doctor. Among others, a 70 year old man, Oleksa Korol, was whipped. He was beaten with flail-swingles by five soldiers. Three times they revived him to consciousness by dashing water over him. His whole body is one large wound, and he also suffered an internal hemorrhage. The commandant of the military detachment, having called the village council, declared to them, "The government has sent us to you as a punishing hand—as a fist that will punish you for your ill attitude to the State and to the Government. Should you refuse to improve, we will soon come again for a few days stay, and if that should not help, then we will come for the third time to stay for a few weeks."

*(The Interpellation describes the pacification of the villages of Podborodyshe, Pidyarkiv S. and Pidyarkiv.)*

In the village of Sidlyska, Dmytro Pidhirny, of the same village, was shot and killed by an army rifle by Władysław Rodzinki, the corporal of the 14th regiment of Uhlans, as the victim was escaping before the pogrom of the punitive expedition. Polish newspapers reported that the killed man had been a sabotagist, but this has not yet been confirmed.

*(The punitive expedition to the village of Zvenyhorod.)*

On October 13, 1930, a detachment of the 14th Uhlan regiment arrived in the village of Zvenyhorod the second time. The village suffered horribly. The peasant, Chytaylo, received 180 strokes. He was reported to have died as a result of the beating. The report yet lacks confirmation.

Gregory Artymiv, of the village of Borynychy, thus describes his own experiences during the stay of the punitive expedition in the latter village. On October 3, there came to the village from Lviv a detachment of the 14th Uhlan regiment, about 100 men strong. He knew no soldier of the detachment; he heard, however, that one of them was called "Stasieczek". In the regiment was one person who was known to the victim and who, the victim asserts, is able to identify those who had been most cruel to the peasants. When Artymiv was summoned before the commandant of the detachment, he was asked who had burned the stacks. He answered that in his village there had been no arson. In spite of this he was ordered to undress, his legs were tied, a person sat on his shoulders, they covered his mouth with their hands and from time to time dashed him with water. Four soldiers flogged him, one of them with an iron rod, two with flail-swingles, and the fourth with some heavy object. After the beating he was locked up in a cellar together with six other persons. They were kept there for two days without any aid. They were not allowed to leave the cellar, nor was anybody admitted to see them. A doctor confirmed that Artymiv had a severe wound on his body from whipping.

On October 14, the inhabitants of the town of Bibrka saw a strange show. A caravan of twenty wagons brought a number of peasants, whipped, bandaged, black from dried blood. Whenever any of the passers-by wanted to come closer to them to see the wounded, the police drove them away, threatening to whip everybody who would come nearer the wagon. The victims were brought to the court to have the judge ascertain their wounds, but both Bittner, the investigating judge, and the presiding judge refused to conduct court observation, giving as a reason for their refusal the injunction of the district public prosecutor of Lviv to conduct such an examination as the court of Bibrka, being a civilian court, is not competent to ascertain the whipping done by soldiers. In such cases, only the military court is competent. After such a judicial decision the victims of flogging had to return to their homes. Even doctors are so terrorized by the punitive expeditions that they refuse medical aid to the victims.

#### DISTRICT OF YAVORIV

The punitive expedition was carried out in the district of Yavoriv by the 14th Uhlan regiment mentioned above. Two squadrons of this regiment visited various localities of the district.

On October 7, 1930, there came to the village of Svydnytsya about 120 Uhlans commanded by Lieutenant Potocki. They surrounded the village, drove men to the reading room and there flogged about 150 of them. The district dairy was destroyed by them, as well as the cooperative store, about 400 kg. of butter and 80 hundred-weights of oats were taken from the villagers without pay.

A detachment of the same regiment came on October 8, 1930, to the village of Morantsi. They flogged the people, destroyed the furnishings of various houses, as well as those of local societies, saying that this is punishment for celebrating a cooperative day. They took 18 hundred-weights of oats, and declared that they would come again to carry off the remainder. The peasants who carted the goods for the soldiers testify that the soldiers sold grain to Jewish dealers as soon as they passed the turnpike.

To Drohomysl the punitive expedition came on October 9, 1930. Hearing of the approach of the expedition, many people ran into forests. The soldiers flogged every person they could lay hands on. In the cooperative store they destroyed the entire stock, and Thursday night they demolished the whole building.

On October 10, the punitive detachments reached the villages: Morantsi, Chaplaky, Hnoynytska Vola, Boniv and Nahachiv. In each place people were flogged. The punitive detachments visited also the villages: Chohynye, Prylbychi, Nakonechne, (here the people were maltreated with extreme cruelty), Porudenko, Svydnytsya, Chornylava, Moloshkovychi, where they flogged M. Herasym, one of the directors of the cooperative dairy (150 blows). Raids were made also upon the villages of Olshanytsya, Rohozno, Tuchapy, Yaziv, Kobylnytsya, Mlyny, and Khotynets. Each raid caused the people heavy material damage. Wholesale flogging of the people prevailed. For some time after this raid the people spent nights in forests, together with their horses and some movable property.

The commandant of the police station at Krakovets summoned the mayors of the villages of Budzyn, Hnoynytsi, and Hnoynytska Vola to appear before him on October 10, 1930, in the evening, and ordered them to influence their respective village councils to make declarations that they would guarantee peace and would vote, during the coming elections, for the government candidates.

*(The document goes on to describe the punitive expedition in Nakonechne, the suburb of the town of Yavoriv.)*

## DISTRICT OF HORODOK YAHAYLONSKY

*(The punitive expeditions visited a series of villages.)*

According to the depositions of eye-witnesses, this is how the punitive expedition acted in the village of Stavchany. On September 27, 1930, there came a detachment of the 14th Uhlan regiment. Stephen Fiktash, director of the local cooperative store, having heard of the floggings by the soldiers, ran to a neighboring village to stay there as long as the Uhlans will "officiate". Hearing that the Uhlans had left for a neighboring village, he returned home and went to sleep. At night, Uhlans raided his house, pulled him out of bed, tied his hands behind him, took him to the courtyard and tied him to a wagon. Having tied to the same wagon another inhabitant of the village, Michael Kulyk by name, the treasurer of the cooperative store, the soldiers dragged them about the village seizing those who were to be flogged. This ride lasted almost two hours. Then the soldiers started the flogging. In each village, the peasants were compelled to make contributions and were then flogged as their names appeared on a list prepared beforehand. Each of the victims received 50 to 100 blows delivered upon the naked body covered with a wet cloth. When the punitive detachments were leaving a village (after the floggings) the mayors of the villages were compelled to sign official declarations that the military detachment had behaved peacefully and exemplarily during their stay in the village and that they had paid the full price for the food taken from the inhabitants.

On October 15, 1930, the punitive expedition visited the village of Mshana. The Uhlans tore down the Ukrainian sign from the cooperative store, chopped it and threw it into the mud. The people were then summoned to the reading room. Those working in the fields were tied to horses and driven at a gallop to the reading room. The commandant of the soldiers addressed them on the coming elections, ordering them to vote for the list of the Non-partisan (pro-government) block. After this speech the flogging was ordered to begin. Peter Masyak, 60 years old, received 200 strokes. Many others were also whipped. The soldiers demolished the furnishings of the cooperative store, destroyed the goods and left behind an utter ruin. From various villagers the soldiers took pigs, geese, chickens and linen. At Peter Syvenky's household they destroyed 70 beehives.

*(Here follow the details from the depositions of Nicholas Modla and Stephen Syvenky, the victims of "pacification".)*



## DISTRICT OF DROHOBYCH

*(The raid of State police on the district cooperative store.)*

## DISTRICT OF PEREMYSHL (PRZEMYSŁ)

*(The punitive expedition visited several villages.)*

## DISTRICT OF RUDKY

*(The punitive expedition in the village of Khyshevychi is described.)*

## DISTRICT OF SOKAL

The punitive expeditions came to the district on September 27, 1930. They started their activity with searches of Ukrainians in the district town of Sokal. Searches were made at the homes of Ukrainian pupils and teachers and many persons were arrested. The following students: Kovalyk, Mankut, Maybuk, Sosnovsky, Lysnyak, Bodnarchuk, Kruk and Zdryla, were released from jail. They were beaten with rifle butts and sticks on the heels. A search was also made at the homes of Rev. Luke Saluk, Alexander Hrytskyk, Verhun, Ivan Chaban, as well as the dormitories for poor students.

To carry out the punitive expeditions was used squadron II. of the 6th regiment of mounted sharp-shooters, from the town of Zhovkva.

*(Here follows the route of the expedition, the dates of the visits to various villages. Then details are given of the activity of the punitive expedition at various villages and the damage done. In this district the soldiers seemed to rave with special fury against Ukrainian libraries. A list of libraries destroyed by the soldiers is given. In many places the people were ordered to sing Polish anthems and to shout, "Long live Marshal Pilsudski." In the village of Uhryniv the soldiers destroyed the furnishings, curtains, valuable theatrical scenery, radio and library of the reading room. Equal damage was done in the village of Sobyshiv where the soldiers charged the peasants with hiding the village library and ordered Rev. Harasovsky to lead them to the house where it was hidden. Wherever the soldiers suspected that the library might be found, a search was carried out, at which all the house furnishings and the entire food store of the owner was destroyed. At Rev. Harashovsky's home a search was made for the library, his private library was destroyed, and the floors in the entire building were torn up.)*

The following deposition made personally and signed by Vladimir Marchuk, student of the third year of the teachers' college at Sokal, well illustrates the methods of the State police in collecting the evidence from the arrested persons. This is his deposition made on October 31, 1930:

"On October 28, there came to my home in Nesmytsi, where I reside, the commandant of the State police precinct and a policeman told me that I was under arrest. And so I was taken to the police post at Sokal. Before they started to question me, a policeman by the name of Puch gave me a painful beating. As he himself stated, this treatment was for the purpose of reminding me that it was my duty to speak the truth. He beat me first with fists on my temples. Then he hit me five times on the jaw with his fist. Then he floored me and as I lay, he told me to write in this position whatever he would dictate to me. He wanted me to write that I had information of the so-called black hand and that I had conspired with Stefanovsky at night to write an anonymous letter to Prof. Starzewski. I refused to sign such a deposition. Then Puch demanded from me an admission that I had read "Surma" and "Yunak" and that I distribute these papers. When I denied this he began to whip me with a rubber bar as I lay on the floor. I surely received about 70 blows. After this whipping he ordered me to sign the record which Puch had written himself, scratching out and erasing various words. Now he ordered me to take a seat in a chair. Holding his rubber bar over my head he yelled, "Write what I'll tell you. For every erring word you will get ten blows." Beaten and mangled, I was hardly conscious of what I was compelled to write. Probably I wrote down all that Puch dictated to me. I remember that he dictated something about Cvikula, Stefanisky, Niskench, that I had obtained "Surma" from Cvikula, etc. He also dictated something about boy-scouts. I recall that Puch required me to write that on the Day of Annunciation I had been with my class mates in the Horbivsky forest at a meeting of boy-scouts, and I probably complied. He also asked me something about the book entitled "Makivka".

"All these 'depositions' I signed, after which I was taken to the guard room. The following were called to make depositions: Kozak, of Khorobriv, a student of the teachers' college; Miron Kokhan, student of the teachers' college; Ostap Zahoroda, student in the 7th grade of "gymnasium". While they were making depositions, I heard Kokhan yell out loud. I may add that I, too, called out in pain as I was making my depositions. I was released and ordered to go home. I stayed at the police station from

11 A. M. till 4 P. M. I now feel a strong headache and a pain in my left ear. I have marks of the beating all over my body and above my left ear. As a proof of the veracity of the above I sign my name, Vladimir Marchuk."

#### DISTRICT OF BRODY

*(The details of the punitive expedition in the town of Brody and the villages of Kadlubyska, Chernytsya and Nakvasha.)*

#### DISTRICT OF BREZHANY

The behavior of the punitive expedition in Berezhanly was well attested to by the Rev. Bishop Dr. Buchko, who visited some of the localities raided by the punitive expeditions. And he did this after a certain time had passed since the punitive expedition, so certain proofs of destruction could have been already obliterated.\*)

In the parochial building of the parson, dean E. Bachynksy, the police destroyed during the raid a portrait of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky as well as other pictures, together with their frames. Over the walls of a room they spilled jam. Pillows were torn, clothing destroyed. Eleven hundred-weights of grain of various kinds were mixed together.

*(Follows the description of the raid on the society "Ukrainska Besida"; on the Ukrainian private school "Ridna Shkola"; on the dormitories of poor students; on private houses of various prominent Ukrainians. Then follow the details of the punitive expedition in Adamivka, suburb of the town of Berezhanly; in the village of Konyukhy; in the village of Velyka Plaucha; in the villages of Mala Plaucha and Hlynna; and many other villages of the district.)*

#### DISTRICT OF KAMINKA STRUMILOVA

Although in the entire district there was not one incident of sabotage, though a fire which had destroyed one stack in the village of Benkiv, was proved to be the consequence of negligence, the home of the lawyer Dr. Horbachevsky was searched on October 3, 1930, and on October 13, 1930, all the Ukrainian institutions, cultural and economic, were raided as well as houses of many prominent citizens of Kaminka Strumilova.

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\* Compare above: TESTIMONY OF A BISHOP, p. 47.—Ed.

It was rumored that soldiers were to come to some villages, but the rumors proved false. Only the village of Stryhanka was invaded, on the Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin, by a detachment of soldiers from the nearby Tsyhytsi, in the district of Sokal, where they had been carrying on the pacification of the populace. The soldiers invaded the church during the service, drove out the people and ordered them to swim across the Bug.

Several communes received from the supreme officer of the district an order commanding the village councils to pass resolutions demanding the dissolution of local reading rooms and other societies. In their fear of punitive reprisals some councils really did pass such resolutions.

#### DISTRICT OF PIDHAYTSI

*(The document quotes the observations of the results of the pacification made by Bishop Dr. Buchko, while visiting the district; the details refer to the town of Pidbhaytsi and the villages of Verbiv, Holhoche, Modzelivka, Zarvanytsya, Vyshtnivchyk and Bohatkiivtsi.)*

*The document enumerates the villages of the district visited by the punitive expedition.)*

The cooperative stores and reading circles suffered especially. To destroy them explosives were used.

In all these villages thatches of the houses were torn off, windows and doors were broken, flour and grain poured over with kerosene and mixed with dilled pickles, agricultural machinery and other objects were broken. Villages have suffered more than they did during the world war! The populace fled to the forests, leaving their properties a prey to army and police.

There are in the district hundreds of people who have been flogged. Among them there are many of the intelligentsia, such as Rev. Holovinsky, Rev. Blozovsky, Rev. Sodomora, his wife and daughter, Rev. Kostiuk, Mr. Choliy and his daughter, Rev. Mandziy, teacher Romankiv and his wife, and other. We will quote here the cynical remark of the policeman who dragged Rev. Blozovsky, comparing the flogging with clerical ordaining and stating that this police ordaining is as valid as one performed by the church.

The army levied regularly contributions in grain, which they took without payment. The populace defrayed the expenses of keeping the soldiers, and had to pay for beer and whisky taken by the soldiers in taverns. The soldiers took from the cellar of Joseph Jaworski nine hundred-weights of grain, a part of which



was sold for drinks, and a part was transported to the town of Terebovla.

The damages are immense, the people live in houses without windows, doors, without places to sleep in, without covers. Everything has been destroyed.

In the village of Bokiv the soldiers maltreated defenseless people for three consecutive days. All those arrested, against whom no guilt could be proven, with Rev. Kablak at their head, were conducted with a band through the streets of the village, ordered to sing various songs, to sit in the mud, and then they were flogged.

In the same village, Uhlands from Terebovla shot to death a mentally deranged boy, Euzebius Furdey.

Even now, all the citizens who refuse to sign declarations that they agree to the dissolution of all the reading rooms and cooperative stores, are terrorized, as in the villages of Lysa, Markova, and others.

#### DISTRICT OF BUCHACH

*(The details of punitive expedition in the town of Buchach and the villages of the district: Bobulyntsi, Osivtsi, Petlykivtsi, Stare, Perevoloka, and others.)*

Cooperative stores almost ceased to function. In the district there is evident nervousness. The people hide with their food stores in forests.

#### DISTRICT OF TARNOPOL

*(The details of punitive expedition in the villages of Kurivtsi, Kupchyntsi, Denysiv, Pokropyvna, Proniatyn, Luka Velyka, Myshkovychi, Ostaltsi, Petrykiv, Proshova, Ladychyn, Mykulyntsi, Kryvky, Shlakhtyntsi, and the city of Tarnopol.)*

In the village of Proniatyn, . . . the soldiers flogged (among others) Ksenia Hayda, the wife of Michael Hayda, a pregnant woman, while she was holding an infant at her breast. They demolished the house of the reading circle of "Prosvita" and the cooperative store, chopped and tore up the floor, broke windows, and dashed liquid manure against all the houses that had blue and yellow borders painted on the walls. While the peasants were being beaten, they were ordered to curse Ukraine.

In the village of Luka Velyka, a peasant, Semko Lakh, while being brutally beaten, was mocked repeatedly by the phrases, "You'll remember Ukraine."

It must be noted that in all the villages enumerated there were no acts of incendiarism, and the local populace kept guard and carried out all the injunctions of the authorities.

## DISTRICT OF TEREBOVLA

Searches were carried out on September 26, 1930, by the punitive detachments in the town of Terebovla and the villages of the district: Ostrivchyk, Slobidka Strusviska and Darachiv. Many persons were arrested, though nothing was found.

On October 2, 1930, a punitive detachment of Uhlans arrived at the village of Hleshchava. A raid was made on the local co-operative store, dairy and reading room. Goods were destroyed and much damage done. It has to be noted that neither in Hleshchava, nor in any other village of the district were there any fires or other acts of sabotage.

*(The details are given of the "pacification" of the town of Nove Selo and other villages of the district.)*

## DISTRICT OF ZBARAZH

In the village of Lozivka, the peasants under the blows of knouts had to destroy with their own hands the monument of Shevchenko (the greatest Ukrainian poet—Ed.).

The populace, in a body, ran away from the "pacified" villages. Whoever was not able to run, was whipped till he lost consciousness, no quarter being given to children, old or sick people. The policemen, while searching places, were for the most part drunk.

## DISTRICT OF STANISLAVIV

*(The details of the punitive expedition of the village of Tyazhiv are given. The punitive expedition also reached the villages of Yamnytsia and Viktoriv, but reports are still missing.)*

## DISTRICT OF HORODENKA

The raids on the Ukrainian intelligentsia and peasantry lasted in this district all through the month of September.

A direct pretext for dispatching punitive expeditions was the destruction by fire of some hay stacks owned by Offenberger in the village of Serafyntsi. There was no circumstantial evidence that the fire was due to an act of sabotage, and yet the government ordered a punitive expedition.

The expedition consisted of 40 policemen drawn from the various districts of the voyvodship of Stanislaviv. The expedition was headed by Josef Zbozen, formerly the commandant of police at Horodenka, now at Stanislaviv. To enforce the expedition

Zbozen summoned the frontier guards and local police, and especially Jankowiak, notorious in the entire district. The expedition started its activity on October 2, 1930, in the village of Serafyntsi.

This is the course of action followed by the punitive expedition in almost every village:

A detachment of some 20 or 30 policemen surrounds the reading room of the "Prosvita". They begin to collect the villagers, threatening and beating them to force them to come to the building of the reading room bringing axes and shovels. Here the police break all the doors and windows, smashing all into splinters; then they order the peasants to chop the entire floor in such a manner that no floor board can be used any more for reflooring. They break up the ceiling, the roof, take apart the bricks of the ovens, break up the chairs and benches, cut every piece of linen;—all this being done under the pretext that a search is being made for copies of the "Surma", rifles, revolver, explosives, and the like.

Then the police enter the cooperative store and proceed in a similar manner. Here they tear up the books, scatter and destroy goods, in most cases carrying off food supplies.

Having done thus with the reading room and the cooperative store, the detachment is divided by the commandant into smaller groups, of 4 to 6 policemen each, which are dispatched to the directors of the various Ukrainian societies in the village and the prominent peasants, and there in the private homes the same procedure which was enacted in the reading room and the cooperative store is repeated. They unroof the house, scatter stacks of grain, break kitchen utensils and house furnishings, mix various kinds of grain and flour together, then pour over the mixture water or some other liquid. They often force the owners themselves to take a hand in the destruction of their own property. Besides, they beat up severely the peasants and their families, amidst abusive attacks and acts, adding again and again such expressions as: "If you, hogs, want Ukraine, I have . . . upon Ukraine," and the like.

Having done their work of pacification in one village they proceed to another village where they repeat the procedure.

Pleadings and intercessions with the official authorities in Horodenka (the resort of the supreme officer of the district—Ed.) brought no results.

As an excuse for the reprisals were given acts of sabotage of which there were none in the district. The reprisals make upon

the Ukrainians an impression that they are directed against everything Ukrainian. Besides, the reprisals are connected with the elections, and this conclusion is reached on the basis of the facts that the police carry off with them everything that has any connection with the elections and very careful inquiries about electioneering committees and who belongs to them.

*(Now follow the minute descriptions of the "pacification" of various localities, namely, in the villages: Serafyntsi, Tyshkivtsi, Vikno, Verbiivtsi, and Strilche, Torhovyt'sya Pilna, Kolinsky, Korniv, Petriv, Sokyrchyn, Isakiv, Zhyvachiv, etc., and the town of Horodenka.)\**

In the village of Tyshkivtsi they severely beat Mr. Vasylyv, the auditor of the Association of the Ukrainian Cooperatives at Lviv, who happened to be auditing the cooperative stores in the locality.

#### DISTRICT OF KALUSH

On September 26, 1930, the punitive expedition carried out a search in all the Ukrainian institutions, cultural and economic, as well as in the District Association of Cooperatives in Kalush. Nothing was found, but many people were arrested. It must be noted that there had been no acts of sabotage in the district.

#### DISTRICT OF KOSIV

On September 10, 1930, the police searched the offices of the District Association of Cooperatives at Kossiv. On September 26, they raided the cooperative "Hutsul Art".\*)

On October 3, 1930, the police raided the cooperatives in the village of Zhabye: "Vidrojennya Hutsulshchyny"\*), "The Ukrainian National Home", and the cooperative "Chornohora". Nothing incriminating was found. The goods of the cooperatives were destroyed.

On October 10, 1930, a raid was made upon the cooperative "Hutsulshchyna" in the town of Kossiv. Nothing was found.

#### DISTRICT OF ROHATYN

The district of Rohatyn is one of those districts in which the punitive expeditions and police raids were especially severe.

In the town of Rohatyn suffered not only private houses, but also institutions such as the Ukrainian private "gymnasium" (high

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\* See above: XXIII. 3. UKRAINIANS PREPARE TO SUE POLISH OFFICIALS FOR DAMAGES, p. 226.—Ed.



school) of the "Ridna Shkola Association" and the District Association of Cooperatives. Two raids upon the high school were made. The first took place on September 14, 1930, the second about the end of the month. While the first raid gave no results and was carried out with a certain respect for laws and people, the second raid was carried out as follows:

The school was surrounded by the punitive expedition early in the morning, which was about 5 o'clock. The students were still asleep when the police started to unhinge the entrance doors of the building and entered all the rooms of the "Bursa" dormitory, where the students lived. The frightened children were dragged from their beds, several of them being beaten with rifle butts. They were all driven out into the corridor, where they were given a gymnastic drill punctuated with abusive slanders, frequent blows with rifle butts and boxing of the ears. When the superior of the "Bursa" tried to intervene and asked the police to stop maltreating the children, he was arrested on a charge of preventing the officers from doing their official duty.

Simultaneously a search was made in the entire building. It was a strange coincidence that when the raiding party reached the attic and were about to finish their search, one of the policemen "discovered" in the iron stove in the attic a bomb of American origin. It was clear to everybody that the bomb was a "plant".

In the District Union of Cooperatives and its warehouses a search was made in the same manner as in other cooperatives of the country.

The punitive expedition acted with special severity against the property and the members of the family of the ex-deputy Kuzyk. The raid was conducted by the commandant of the State Police. He rushed into the house with a yell that it was the breeding place of the rebellious U. N. D. O. (the Ukrainian National Democratic Union), out of which all the evil spread over the district. He turned to the police soldiers with the following words, "Here you have to act in a warlike manner. No quarter!" Of course, the behavior of the punitive detachment, after such encouragement, was unusually severe.

This is the chronological account of the expedition and raids upon Ukrainian cooperatives of the district:

On September 21, 1930, the police detachments raided the following cooperatives:

- 1) The District Union of Cooperatives in Rohatyn (the warehouses and offices);
- 2) "National Home" in Cherche;

- 3) "Zhoda" (Concord) in the village of Pukiv;
- 4) "Vlasna Pomich" (Self-Help) in the village of Chesnyky;
- 5) "Postup" (Progress) in the village of Lypytsya Horishna;
- 6) "Dobrobut" (Prosperity) in Lypytsya Dolishna;
- 7) "Nasha Buduchnist" (Our Future) in Svystilnyky;
- 8) "Yednist" (Unity) in Fraha;
- 9) "Pratsya" (Work) in Lubsha;
- 10) "Zhoda" (Concord) in Melna;
- 11) "Selanska Spilka" (Villagers' Partnership) in Psary;
- 12) "Nadia" (Hope) in Danylche;
- 13) "Nadia" (Hope) in Luchyntsi;
- 14) "Zhoda" (Concord) in Konyushky;
- 15) "Zhoda" (Concord) in Babukhiv;
- 16) "Postup" (Progress) in Verbylivtsi;
- 17) "Samopomich" (Self-Help) in Zaluzhe;
- 18) "Samopomich" (Self-Help) in Demyaniv;
- 19) "Yednist" (Unity) in Chahriv;
- 20) "Pratsia" (Work) and "Rayonova Molocharnia" (District Dairy) in Zhuriv;
- 21) "Syla" (Strength) in Pidmykhaylivtsi;
- 22) "Yednist" (Unity) in Hryhoriv;
- 23) "Silsky Hospodar" (Village Farmer) in Vasiuchyn;
- 24) Other cooperatives in Potok and other villages. In all the cooperatives named, goods and furnishings were destroyed, the clerks and the officers of the cooperatives were flogged.

On September 29, 1930, the above mentioned cooperatives were raided again, this time by a military punitive expedition (Uhlans). The people suffered materially and physically.

On September 24, 1930, the Ukrainian institutions and the homes of Ukrainian intelligentsia in Rohatyn were searched again. Nothing was found. Many were arrested.

On September 26, 1930, a punitive (police) expedition came to the village of Martyniv Novy. A search was made in the local cooperative store and in private houses. On September 29 and 30, 1930, there arrived also three squadrons of the Sixth regiment of Uhlans from Stanislaviv. Material damages were colossal. Many suffered physically. In this village were never any acts of sabotage.

On October 4, 1930, the police raided the cooperative "Nasha Yednist" (Our Unity) in the village of Skomorokhy and the cooperative "Nadia" in the village of Pidshumlantsi and both suffered damages. The raid was carried out in the usual fashion (goods

were scattered all over the floor, trodden upon, poured over with kerosene, and the like.)

Starting on October 6, 1930, the punitive expedition of the 6th regiment of Uhlans raided the cooperatives in the following villages: Knihynychi (October 9); Zahirye (October 9); Lubsha (October 13), Pidhirya (Oct. 15); Konyushky (Oct. 15); Skomorokhy Novi, Byblo, Dytiatyn, Sarnky Seredni (Oct. 15); Korostovychi (Oct. 15); Zholchiv, Yavche, and others.

*(The document gives the details of the raids in the Ukrainian cooperative stores in Pidmykhaivtsi, Zhuriv, Vasiuchyn, and Hryhoriv.)*

It must be added that neither in Vasiuchyn nor in any other village of this district was there any sabotage or incendiarism. It seems that the raids were made for no other reason than for the fact that these villages stand on a higher cultural level.

#### DISTRICT OF SKOLE

The pacification of the district of Skole respecting which it must be emphasized that there were no acts of sabotage in it, began as early as September 30, 1930. It was started with raids upon private households. The police searched with utmost thoroughness, upset everything movable, even unpasting pictures and arrested many persons, who were released either the same day or the following. They did not spare the people abusive words and names.

During the raid in the reading rooms of "Prosvita" and the "Luh" in Hirka, in Skole, books were destroyed, being torn and scattered all over the floor. The pictures of Shevchenko and Franko\* were torn. In short, the offices were left in a deplorable condition.

In the cooperative "Narodny Dim" (The National Home) the police poured maliciously upon the floor, groats, onions, beans, flour, chicory, rolls, butter and trod upon all this with their muddy boots. In the cellar they emptied a barrel containing some dozen liters of kerosene. The destruction lasted about half an hour. In the raid participated 5 policemen.

News of similar destruction came from the villages of Synevidsko, Vyzhne, Korchyn, Krushelnytsia, Kaminka, and others.

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\* Shevchenko and Franko are the greatest Ukrainian poets. Shevchenko was born under the reign of Russia, Franko under the reign of Austria.—Ed.

## DISTRICT OF STRYJ

*(The description of the arrest and maltreatment of Henry Barabash, a student of law, in the village of Lubyntsi. He was badly beaten by the police, examined by a doctor and released.)*

## DISTRICT OF ZHYDACHIV

*(Raids on Ukrainian cooperatives in eight villages.)*

## DISTRICT OF BEREZHANY

*(A detailed description of the raid on the villages of Verbiv and Kryve.)*

## DISTRICT OF SNIATYN

It is reported from the village of Karliv, that on November 6, 1930, there came to the village about 60 men, among them about 10 policemen, the rest being members of "Strzelec". The first command issued by this punitive expedition to the mayor of the village was the order to furnish them with 40 chickens for lunch at 11 A. M. Then they started a search. During the search they broke chests, windows, destroyed kitchen ovens, piled on the floor flour, groats, grain and other articles, mixed them together, added to the mixture broken glass, and poured kerosene over it.

In the reading room of "Prosvita" they broke the windows, smashed closets and doors, slashed a valuable painted curtain, and finally glutted their revenge on Shevchenko's portrait. Whomever they met they flogged, especially members of the reading room and the "Luh". They severely wounded Kmytro Keyvan, Anna Fedora, Nicholas Ivasiuk, and Michael Antoniuk. They caught the mayor of the village Stetseva and beat him so that, taken to the hospital at Sniatyn, the man died a few days later.

When they met a boy or a girl dressed in an embroidered shirt, they raised a cry, "Beat the hog! He smells of Ukraine!" and with these words they fell upon him and whipped him or her.

When at 11 o'clock women brought them 30 cooked chickens, the members of the "expedition" abused them in a most insulting manner. After lunch the mayor of the village had to furnish them with 20 wagons to drive the "expedition" to a neighboring village.

## DISTRICT OF SOKAL

This is another fact to supplement the account of the punitive expedition of the Sixth regiment of mounted riflemen, stationed at Zhovkva. A squadron of that regiment arrived at Byshiv. At



midnight they dragged from their beds ten most prominent peasants and beat them in a merciless manner with rifle butts, sticks and knouts. The local reading room and cooperative store were demolished. The people had to supply them every day with not only an amount of food stuffs, but also lunches, dinners, and breakfasts. The reason for this punishment, they said, was that on the day preceding the arrival of the expedition a stack of hay owned by the local landlord had burnt down. After the punishment was ended, the commandant of the detachment was reported to have declared to the victims that he had known all along that they were innocent, but he had been obliged to whip them.

#### DISTRICT OF RADEKHIV

The same punitive detachment arrived on November 1, 1930, in the village of Ordiv, where they demolished the furnishings of the reading room, the amateur stage, a phonograph with records, and the entire library. Seven innocent people were beaten.

From Ordiv the expedition started to Sushno. Here they demolished the reading room and the library. The members of the reading room were beaten and ordered to tear up their books with their own hands. Some facts of the beatings have been already confirmed by court proceedings. The reason for dispatching the punitive expedition is unknown as in the entire district of Radekhiv there was no case of sabotage. No one was arrested.

In the village of Sushno the punitive detachment raided the house of the local parson and demolished the house furnishings.

#### DESTRUCTION OF GOODS AND OFFICES OF COOPERATIVES BY PACIFICATORY DETACHMENTS

Punitive expeditions destroyed in Eastern Galicia the offices and goods of the following cooperatives:\*)

1. AGRICULTURAL CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE "KHLIBOROB" (FARMER) IN VERBIV (The letter of the Cooperative of November 15, 1930, No. 20,349.)

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\*) The data in the possession of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives does not exhaust the sum total of all the numerous and sad incidents of the months of pacification, which touched so painfully the Ukrainian cooperative movement. This is because not all the cooperatives which had suffered were able to report to the Auditing Union about these incidents, and also because the auditors of the Auditing Union were prevented by (Polish) administrative authorities from ascertaining the amount of the material damages done to the various Ukrainian cooperatives as a result of the so-called pacificatory action. The note is from the original.—Ed.

On September 24, 1930, at 7 o'clock the cooperative was visited by a detachment of police who declared a desire to search it. The search was made in such a manner that the goods, such as cloth, linen, paper, dry goods, and the like, were torn into strips, then poured over with fats, olive oil mixed with axle grease and smashed eggs. The goods which could not be thus destroyed, for instance kitchen utensils were broken with axes.

On that occasion they destroyed:

(a) the two-story building of the cooperative together with its entire furnishings (the floors were torn up in all the four rooms, doors and windows broken, window sashes torn off from the walls, all the stoves demolished, the tables, shelves and benches were smashed with axes, all the books torn, as well as the documents and the library of the cooperative);

(b) the furnishings of the cooperative dairy;

(c) the department of agricultural machinery (all the machines, cream separators, butter worker, Gerebor's apparatus, and other machines, were smashed with axes).

According to the estimate of the directors of the cooperative, the damages are amounted:

(a) the value of goods destroyed or taken illegally from the department of consumption .....	3,325.67 zl.
(b) the damages to the goods in the dairy.....	396.30 zl.
(c) the damages to immovable property.....	1,499.49 zl.
(d) the damages to the offices and library.....	300.00 zl.

Total .....	5,521.46 zl.
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## 2. COOPERATIVE "DOVIRIA" (CONFIDENCE) IN VOLYTSIA KOMAROVA.

(The minutes of the appraisal by the auditor of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives on November 12, 1930, No. 20, 261.)

A detachment of the police carried out a search in the cooperative on November 2, 1930. The search was made in such a manner that all the goods was thrown off the shelves, mixed with glass from broken bottles, mixed with grain poured from sacks, the mixture then being poured over with ink. The damages resulting from this raid on the cooperative amount to 376.02 zl.

## 3. COOPERATIVE "TRUD" (LABOR) IN PERESPA.

(The minutes of the appraisal by the auditor of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives on November 14, 1930, No. 20,258.)

A detachment of Uhlans carried out a search in the cooperative. They broke the lock on the door of the cooperative and searched the rooms in the absence of the directors, destroyed a part of the goods (such as dry goods) and carried some away for their private use without paying for them. The cooperative suffered a loss of 594.11 zlotys.

*(The document goes on enumerating one cooperative after another, giving the name of the cooperative, its home-office, the date of perpetration of damages, a short description of the occasion on which the destruction was effected, and finally the amount of damages sustained. Some of the items are reports of a district union of cooperatives giving not one report but a whole series. No. 17, for instance, being the report of the District Union of the Cooperatives of the District of Rohatyn, states the damages done in the offices and warehouses of 23 cooperatives, complete destruction of the entire store of goods in 6 cooperative stores; complete destruction of the house furnishings and the entire store of goods in five villages. There are 28 items in all. No. 28, follows:*

#### 28. DISTRICT FEDERATION OF COOPERATIVES IN ZBARAZH (the letter of September 30, 1930.)

The letter reports as follows:

1. On September 20 and 21, 1930, there came to the village of Roznoshyntsi a detachment of Uhlans from the town of Terebovla. They visited the local cooperative, scattered over the floor all the goods, and finding no kerosene or oil in the store, mixed the goods with feathers from the pillows of the owner of the house in which the store was situated.

2. On September 25, 1930, a detachment of the police of Poznan came to Nove Selo and destroyed the local cooperative (tearing up the books and pouring kerosene over the goods).

3. On September 26, there came a detachment of police of Poznan to the village of Sukhivtsi, destroyed the local cooperative, tore up the floor of the house in which the cooperative was situated, dug a ditch into which they threw all the goods of the cooperative mixed together and poured over them oil and kerosene. Since that time the cooperative does not function.

4. On September 26, the same detachment of police destroyed in a similar manner the cooperative in Shelpaky. They also destroyed the monument to Shevchenko erected in the village. The cooperative does not function.

5. On September 27, 1930, the same detachment of police came to the village of Dobromirka. Most of all suffered the local cooperative. The police destroyed the goods completely and all

the furnishings of the cooperative, chopped the doors and windows, destroyed the dairy machinery. Since the day of the search the cooperative does not function.

6. On September 28, a detachment of the police of Poznan\* arrived in the village of Skoryky and destroyed two stores of the local cooperative (in the main store the police poured kerosene over the goods; in the branch store—ink).

7. On September 29, 1930, the same detachment of police came (a) to the village of Medyn, where they destroyed the cooperative; (b) to the village of Shyly, where they poured over the goods of the cooperative, kerosene and oil, thus putting an end to the activities of the cooperatives; (c) to the village of Koshlaky, where they destroyed completely the local cooperative "Yednist" (Unity) and demolished the machinery of the dairy.

8. A week later a squadron of Uhlans came from Brody to the district and passed through several villages already "pacified" by the police of Poznan, to put finishing touches to the work of the police.

#### TAKING GOODS FROM COOPERATIVE STORES GRATIS OR AT UNUSUALLY LOW PRICES.

During the searches of cooperative stores carried out by punitive detachments of the army and state police, it was not uncommon for the pacificatory detachments to take without any payment or else forcing the storekeepers to accept ridiculously low prices for such goods as chocolate, candy, butter, bacon, perfumes, and so on.

In this manner the searches were conducted in the following cooperative stores (we give facts of which we were notified by the letters of the cooperative victims):

1. AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE "KHLIBOROB" (FARMER) IN VERBIV (The letter of the Cooperative dated September 15, 1930, No. 20,349.)

The cooperative writes that during the search made in the cooperative on September 29, 1930, the detachment of state police took a part of the goods, such as bread, butter, bacon, candies, chocolate, various bakery and other food stuffs without paying for them. What goods remained the police destroyed. The material damage has not yet been appraised.

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\* Poznan is in the most westerly province of Poland; before the reestablishment of free Poland Poznan was subject to Germany and suffered from the harshness of Prussian rule. The city was then known by its German name of Posen.—Ed.



2. THE COOPERATIVE "DOVIRYA" (CONFIDENCE) IN VOLYTSYA KOMAROVA (The minutes of appraisal by the auditor of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives, dated November 12, 1930, No. 20,261.)

On November 2, 1930, during the search in the cooperative, the detachment of state police took a part of the goods for their own use (several dozen eggs, several kilograms of sugar and other goods) and did not pay for them.

3. COOPERATIVE "TRUD" (TOIL) IN PERESPA. (The minutes of appraisal by the auditor of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives, dated November 14, 1930, No. 20,258.)

The detachment of Uhlands, searching on October 2, 1930, took from the cooperative for their own use, without payment, the following goods: eggs, shoe polish, watches, electric lamps, chocolate, candy, waffles, sugar, salt, note paper, pencils and other goods. The search was done in the absence of the directors and managers of the cooperative store. It was impossible to ascertain how much of the goods had been taken by the police and what portion of the stock had been destroyed. The total goods destroyed and taken gratis during the search amounts, according to the inventory of the store, to 534.11 zlotys.

*(The document goes on in this manner through 24 items. The document treats Polish state police with due respect, never calling their thieving or robbery by the proper name, but merely terming it "as taking goods without paying for them". The last item of the enumeration follows:)*

24. COOPERATIVE "PRAVDA" (TRUTH) IN HUSYATY-CHI. (The minutes of the appraisal by the auditor of the Auditing Union, dated November 9, 1930, No. 19,722.)

On September 14, 1930, the 14th regiment of Uhlands took from the local cooperative store, goods to the value of 225.65 zl. The incident was witnessed by Oleksa Besarab and Peter Vysochansky. The goods were taken from the store at the command of Lieutenant Najman.

#### ASSAULTS UPON THE CLERKS OF COOPERATIVES.

1. "Vlasna Pomich" in Chesnyky (the letter of the cooperative, of November 29, 1930, No. 20,343.)

During the search conducted by a detachment of the 6th Uhlan regiment of Stanislaviv, a clerk in the store, Stephen Lutsyshyn, was beaten.

2. "Pobida" (Victory) in Sernyky (the deposition of the auditor of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives, of November 1, 1930, No. 19,717.)

During the search of the cooperative, conducted by the 14th Uhlan regiment of Yazlovets, the following persons sustained physical injuries, on October 10, 1930: (a) the president of the board of directors of the cooperative, Michael Zhukevych, who is not expected to survive (he has been lying in a fever for four weeks); (b) the secretary of the board of directors of the cooperative, Maxim Yupyk, who has been sick in bed for four weeks; (c) the manager of the cooperative store, Dmytro Cymbal, who was sick in bed and unable to work for 20 days; (d) the clerk of the store, Stephen Vasylyk, who is still sick, unable to work and is attended by doctors; (e) the treasurer of the cooperative, Cyril Myhal, who is in bed, unable to work; (f) the following members of the cooperative: Maksim Demenchuk, who was sick in bed for 20 days; Theodosius Serky, unable to work; Anastasius Khmyz, still attended by doctors; Constantine Serky, still seriously ill, has been in bed four weeks; Nicholas Dobriansky, who is attended by doctors.

3. "PRAVDA" (TRUTH) IN HUSYATYCHI. (The minutes of the auditor of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, of November 9, 1930, No. 19,722.)

During the search in the cooperative conducted by the 14th regiment of Uhlans, the following persons were assaulted:

(a) vice-president of the board of directors of the cooperative, Michael Basarab (still attended by doctors);

(b) the manager of the store, Alexander Basarab (attended by doctors);

(c) the store clerk, Peter Vysochansky (attended by doctors);

(d) the members of the cooperative: Michael Oleynyk, Michael Verys, Michael Basarab, Daniel Luty.

*(The document enumerates thus 15 cooperatives, listing 88 of the officers. Occasionally the officers are not enumerated, the document merely stating that the searching party flogged every member of the management and of the board of directors. In some cases the witnesses stated what reasons the soldiers or police had given for the flogging. While beating the managers of the cooperative store in Zboriv, the soldiers told some of the victims that they were whipped for concealing arms, others were reminded how ill-advised it would be for them to vote for Ukrainian deputies in the future. Some of the victims are professional cooperative workers, others, local men of prominence, working for the development of coopera-*

tion; among the latter are priests, mayors of villages, doctors, teachers and lawyers. In the village of Lozivka, the document states, the local priest was beaten with a rifle butt and only the intervention of the local great land-estate owner (a woman) saved him from further violence. When the police or the soldiers caught, during a search, an auditor of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives conducting the auditing in a cooperative store, he was, as a rule, similarly assaulted and flogged.)

15. "YEDNIST" (UNITY) IN TYCHKIVTSI. (The letter of the Auditor of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, of October 8, 1930, No. 17,693.)

On October 4, 1930, there came to the village of Tychkivtsi, the auditor of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives for the purpose of examining the local cooperative store, in accordance with the requirements of the law. The auditor was not permitted to perform his duty, for he was arrested and taken to the local village jail where he was severely beaten with fists and canes till he bled. This auditor was later examined at the hospital of the "Narodna Lichnystya" at Lviv, Piotr Skarga Street 4, where his wounds were properly attested to.

#### COOPERATIVES COMPELLED TO SIGN DECLARATIONS OF THEIR OWN DISSOLUTION.

1. "YEDNIST" (UNITY) IN KOSHLAKY. (The letter of the cooperative, of November 14, 1930, No. 19,643.)

The cooperative store reports that the mayor of the village, Jan Krzywonos (a Polish name—Ed.), notified the directors and officers of the cooperative that the supreme officer of the district had ordered the liquidation of the cooperative, henceforth making it illegal to supply said cooperative store with any merchandise. Later the mayor ordered the president of the directors and the secretary of the cooperative to sign its liquidation, giving them until November 23, 1930, to decide.

2. "POBIDA" (VICTORY) IN SERNYKY. (The deposition of the Auditor of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, on November 1, 1930, No. 19,717.)

The punitive detachment of the 14th Uhlan regiment of Yazlovets, on October 10, 1930, forced the inhabitants of the village to sign written declaration to the effect that the local cooperative store resigns its membership in the District Union of Cooperatives, as well as in the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives. Should the officers refuse to sign the declaration, the village was threatened with new reprisals.

3. "YEDNIST" (UNITY) IN MEDYNA. (The letter of the cooperative, of November 3, 1930, No. 19,101.) On October 10, 1930, the gendarmes Beker and Sypniewicz demanded, under the threat of a new punitive expedition, that the directors and officers of the cooperative sign a declaration of its liquidation. The members of the cooperative, fearing another punitive expedition, like the one which was going on at that very time in a neighboring village, signed this declaration. On October 16, 1930, the gendarme Jan Bilko and the school principal, Jan Podgorski, ordered, through the mayor, all the people to gather in the local reading-room to decide upon changing the cooperative into a "circle" (a Polish organization). The people failed to appear.

On October 23, 1930, the gendarme Beker forbade the cooperative to buy new stock of goods, under the threat of "mixing all the goods and the entire building of the cooperative with dust". The cooperative has not functioned since.

4. "NADIA" (HOPE) IN KLUVYNTSI, DISTRICT OF KOPYCHYNTSI. (The letter of the cooperative, of October 25, 1930, No. 18,700.)

The cooperative states that the mayor of the village, a Pole by the name of Michael Kozlowski, on October 21, 1930, compelled the peasants, by means of a threat of a punitive expedition, to drive to the supreme office of the district to sign the declaration that the villagers wish to have in their locality neither a Ukrainian cooperative, nor a Ukrainian reading-room and that from this day on the peasants will never call themselves Ukrainians, but Ruthenians.\*) The villagers, being conscious Ukrainians, refused to sign the declaration.

5. THE COOPERATIVE UNION OF THE DISTRICT OF ZBARAZH. (Letter, October 30, 1930, No. 17,323.)

During the "pacification" of the various villages of the district of Zbarazh the punitive detachments of the soldiers (Uhlans from Brody) and the detachment of the State police from Poznan, compelled the directors and officers of the cooperative stores to sign declarations of the voluntary dissolution of the cooperatives. Such cases were reported from the following villages:

(a) Lozivka, where the villagers were compelled by the threat of another punitive expedition to sign the dissolution of

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\* "Dilo", the Ukrainian daily of Lviv, brings the text of such a declaration, which had been prepared beforehand by Polish administrative authorities in print and offered for signature by Ukrainians. The declaration was printed in Polish and reads:



the local cooperative stores; (b) in the village of Medyn, where they also signed such a declaration; (c) in the village of Koshlaky the same thing happened; (d) in the villages of Lysichyntsi and Bazaryntsi, the commandant of the Uhlans threatened that should the members of the local communal council refuse to liquidate the local cooperative store, the soldiers would return to the village and compel them to sign the declaration of the liquidation of the cooperative.

CLOSING OF COOPERATIVE STORES UNDER THE PRETEXT OF UNFITNESS OF THE OFFICE AND PREVENTING THE OFFICERS OF THE AUDITING UNION OF UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVES FROM CARRYING OUT THEIR DUTIES.

1. "ZHODA" (CONCORD) IN TERKA. (Letter of November 12, 1930, No. 19,644.)

On November 12, 1930, the chief of the local state police padlocked the local cooperative store, giving no explanation for his act nor showing any written order. The cooperative store sees no reason for being padlocked. The stock of the cooperative store included newly purchased bread, rolls, sausages, bacon, butter, lard, eggs, flour and yeast, all of which would either rot or be devoured by rats and mice before the store would reopen.

## I.

### DECLARATION

1. We, the Ruthenians, gathered at a meeting.....and numbering.....persons, condemn all the Ukrainian sabotages and promise to trace down all the Ukrainian sabotagists and deliver them into the hands of authorities.

2. We pay deep homage to the Most Illustrious Polish Republic, the Lord President and the Lord Marshal Pilsudski.

3. We vow to remain forever loyal citizens of the Polish State and to obey implicitly all the orders of the Polish authorities.

4. We protest against being called "Ukrainians", since we were, are and always will be Ruthenians.

5. We demand that the firebrands of public and private property, who are doing this for Berlin money, be court-martialed.

## II.

### DECLARATION

We declare herewith that all the directors and officers of all the Ukrainian societies, namely (here the names of the organizations should be enumerated) cease to exist of their own will from this day.

....., on.....day of....., 1930.

2. "SVOBODA" (LIBERTY) IN PIDHORODYSHCHE. (Letter of an officer of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives.)

Policeman No. 2162, searched the officer of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, and then the chief of police ordered the auditor under a threat of arrest, to leave at once for Lviv. The auditor was deprived of the right to audit the cooperative store.

3. "COOPERATIVE PLAST" (BOY SCOUT) OF LVIV. (The letter of October 24, 1930, No. 18,545.)

On September 26, 1930, the chief of the State police searched the store of the cooperative "Plast", 5 Shashkevych Street, Lviv, and the workshop of the cooperative at 12 Boczna Janowska Street, Lviv. Even though nothing incriminating was found, the offices of the cooperative store were padlocked, and in them all the books and goods. The reasons for padlocking were not given.

The cooperative "Plast" in Lviv is an independent commercial-cooperative enterprise, in no way connected with the Section of the Society for Protection of Children and Youth in Lviv of the same name, which was lately dissolved.

4. THE "DISTRICT DAIRY" OF MOLOSHKOVYCHI. (The letter of an officer of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, of October 14, 1930, No. 18,695.)

On October 13, 1930, an officer of the Auditing Union came to the village of Moloshkovychi for the purpose of auditing the cooperative store according to the provisions of the law. He was unable to do so, since all the directors of the cooperative, expecting the arrival of the punitive expedition in the village, which was then "pacifying" neighboring villages, mercilessly maltreating the peasants, had hidden, taking with them the books of the cooperative store. For the same reasons he could not audit the cooperative dairy in Yavoriv.

5. EXCERPTS FROM THE MINUTES OF AN OFFICER OF THE AUDITING UNION OF UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVES, October 15, 1930, No. 18,123.

On October 9, 1930, an officer of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives came to the town of Halych to audit six local cooperative stores in the district of Halych. As the district was just then being "pacified" the auditor went back to Lviv without performing his duty, for fear of being assaulted.

6. "YEDNIST" (UNITY) OF TYSHKIVTSL. (The letter of an officer of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives, of October 8, 1930, No. 17,693.)

An officer of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives, who came to the Tyshkivtsi on October 4, 1930, to audit the cooperative store was not admitted by authorities.

7. COOPERATIVES IN THE DISTRICT OF HORODOK YAHAYLONSKY. (The letter of an officer of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives, of December 2, 1930, No. 20,376.)

Within a short period of time the following cooperative societies in the district were dissolved and padlocked:

(a) "W YEDNOSTY SYLA" (IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH)) in Zushytsi;

(b) "NADIA" (HOPE) in Zbadyn;

(c) "YEDNIST" (UNITY) in Powitna;

(d) "YEDNIST" (UNITY) in Dobrostany;

(e) "ZHODA" (CONCORD) in Obroshyn;

(f) "SAMOPOMICH" (SELF-HELP) in Zashkovychi.

In conclusion we state that we have omitted from this report a great amount of material referring to the "pacification" which is in possession of the Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, these informations being oral, and our report being based only upon official written data. For this reason this report does not comprise the sum total of what had taken place in the so-called "pacificatory action" on the territory of Eastern Galicia and therefore it does not reflect the sad events of the "pacificatory months" in their entirety.

#### DEPOSITIONS OF VICTIMS CHYZHYKIV, DISTRICT OF LVIV

ILKO FEDYNA, 40 years old, once a soldier in the 9th battalion of the Ukrainian Galician Army, now the president of the reading-room of "Prosvita" and the cooperative store of Chyzhykiv, by profession a blacksmith, declares:

On October 12, 1930, four police posts, namely the post of Vynnyky, Hayi, Borshiv and the local post started a raid. The reading-room was destroyed. At Fedyna's they broke the tile of the roof, demolished the oven and cut to pieces the blacksmith's bellows. In the cooperative store they scattered the goods all over the ground and poured kerosene upon the bacon. In the reading-room they broke the windows.

On October 15, 1930, there came into the village a detachment of the 14th Uhlans regiment, numbering about 130. It was 7 o'clock in the morning; the Uhlans surrounded the village and

began shooting. All the people began to scurry. Then the Uhlans began shooting at the people. Mathew Paranka's boy, about 15 years, was shot in the hand and stomach.

They seized about 24 persons, led them about the village and finally locked them up in a stall. Then they called them, one by one, to another stall, and after an "examination" they flogged each of them in turn. The examination was carried out in the following manner: the first question was whether Fedyna is the president of the reading-room of "Prosvita" and what is being done in "Prosvita". Is it true that children gather there every day for one hour and learn about Ukraine? Who teaches them? Who prepares the blue and yellow flags and who teaches them to play Cossacks? Who conducts the "Luh"? Where do lads and girls meet? Those questions Fedyna answered: that in the reading-room the people read books and newspapers, which is permitted. Children receive instruction on how to live honestly, and in this they are instructed by no one but himself. The flags were prepared for the cooperative festival, and ever since, they have been preserved in the reading-room. There is no branch of the "Luh" in the village of Chyzykiv; and as to where lads and girls meet he does not know.

"Then you will know!" he was told, and upon these words his legs were bound, two Uhlans held him by the hands, gagged him with his cap, and six Uhlans gave him about 200 blows with sticks. After this performance he was ordered to rise and to offer thanks for the lesson given him. When Fedyna turned to the lieutenant, he was ordered to turn to the soldiers. Then once again the Uhlans threw him to the ground and flogged him. After this second beating he was again ordered to rise, and then run. He was thus driven into another stall, where with 7 other men, unconscious from flogging, lay on a heap of dung, some four square meters in extent, he lay till eight o'clock in the evening. It was only at that hour that a little girl dared to bring the flogged men some tea and thus somewhat relieved their sufferings.

The number of the flogged amounted to 28, for the flogging continued on the following day. The village was ordered to furnish 100 cwt. of oats, several loads of hay and straw, several dozen sacks of potatoes, 5 pigs, a large number of chickens and eggs. There were robberies committed during the night, money being taken away from the people. They told the people that they are being flogged for "running from their own army" as well as for "causing unrest in Poland."



On October 22, 1930, the police returned and ordered the cooperative store and other places which showed signs of destruction, to be rearranged so that all traces of the pacification might be obliterated. Even at this occasion five more people were flogged. They said they would return to conduct elections.

IVAN PAVLOVSKY, 44 years old, a farmer, a member of the cooperative store and the reading-room, was maltreated to a greater degree than were others, for he is the son of a Pole.

#### THE VILLAGE OF PIDYARKIV, DISTRICT OF BIBRKA

On October 12, 1930, there came into the village 150 soldiers of the 14th regiment of Uhlans. They surrounded the village from the side of the town of Yavoriv, others from that of the village of Nakonechne. About 60 villagers were seized and detained in the fire-house. Then they were called, one by one, into the reading-room.

VASYL ROMAN, 30 years old, laborer, father of three children, once a soldier in the Ukrainian Galician Army, received 120 blows. Four men whipped him while another four held him. Besides contusions he also has a deep wound in one of his legs. He was flogged all over his body, and when he was hit on the head, he at once bled profusely. "Now you surely will build Ukraine," he was told. After being flogged he was kicked about and called a hog.

In the reading-room they scattered the books, in the cooperative store the goods. The soldiers levied a great contribution. Besides grain, pigs, hogs and linen they took 3 zlotys from every household.

Vasyl Roman received first aid treatment in the town of Yavoriv, which he reached after dragging himself along the road from 9 o'clock in the morning till 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Even on October 26 (which was the day of his deposition) he was unable to walk without the aid of a cane.

IVAN PYSAK, 62 years old, received 150 blows. He swooned three times. As the soldiers flogged him, they called to him repeatedly, "Return the rifle!" Thrown out of the house, he barely reached the gate, when he fell unconscious.

IVAN HRYNKIV, 18 years of age, received 200 blows during the night of October 13, 1930. Four soldiers flogged him with flail-swingles, telling him to surrender his weapons. He was then thrown out into the court. A wagon was sent by his family to

take him home. In his house he lay till October 26. The wound produced pus, which necessitated an operation.

CYRYL SHPYRA, mentioned in another section, is suffering from the gangrene in the region of the left buttock. The section affected by gangrene is of the size of a man's palm.

ROMAN SHPYRA, Cyryl's brother, 35 years of age, was also flogged, but no larger marks are visible. He has cured himself at home.

#### THE VILLAGE OF HRYNIV, DISTRICT OF BIBRKA

JOSEPH CHEMERYS, 30 years of age, a member of the village council.

On October 11, 1930, the punitive expedition came into the village at the moment when he was at the meeting of the village council. He was arrested and led to the reading-room, where there were already 13 other men. All of them were taken to a cellar, whence they were called out, one by one, to a barn and flogged. When they were flogging Chemerys, they said to him, "You'll attend meetings, but surrender your arms." At first he received 50 blows, and when revived, he received 60 more. After the flogging he was thrown into a pigsty among the pigs. There he lay several hours, and from the sty he was carried back to the cellar. In the cellar he lay till morning. In the morning the Uhlans brought him to his house in a wagon. From home he was taken to the hospital at Bibrka, where he lay four days. Now he lies at home, and is taken to Lviv to have his wounds redressed. He has a subcutaneous hemorrhage in the left inner side of the thigh. X-rays were ordered to be taken of his leg as a fracture of the bone is suspected.

#### MSHANA, DISTRICT OF HORODOK YAHAYLONSKY

STEPHEN SYVENKY, 30 years old, a member of the reading-room of "Prosvita". On the day of the arrival of the punitive expedition he was working in the field with his father, sowing wheat. The Uhlans drove them from the field to the reading-room, where there were already other people. His father was soon released but Stephen was detained. The Uhlans prepared a bench for flogging, stretched him upon it, gagged him with his sheepskin cap, and while some held him down, one sitting on his head, others whipped him till he lost consciousness. Then they dashed water over him, and when he came to, he was flogged again. Then, unconscious, he was thrown out into the court.

Here his wife was waiting and took him home. The physicians found gangrene in the region of the right buttock, of the size of a man's palm.

#### PIDYARKIV, DISTRICT OF BIBRKA

IVAN KOZAK, 33 years old, a member of the reading-room and cooperative store.

He was whipped, on October 12, 1930, with flail-swingles, in a barn. He does not remember the number of strokes he received. After the flogging he was thrown into a damp cellar, stored with potatoes. He lay at home sick until October 28, when he was operated upon and the pus was drained away. He cannot walk and is delirious.

As the soldiers were flogging him, they said, "Here you have your supper, then you shall get your dinner and will go to God to voice your complaint."

MAXIM MATVIYISHYN, farmer, member of the reading-room and the cooperative store. The examination was carried out in the following manner:

"Do you frequent the cooperative?"

"Yes."

"And the reading-room?"

"Yes."

"What for?"

"The people go, so I go too. We read newspapers."

"What kind?"

"'Novy Chas' and others."\*

"Have you a rifle?"

"No."

"Do you keep the 'Surma'?"

"I don't know what that is."\*

"He does not know. Let him have it!"

In the middle of the room they prepared two sacks of potatoes, tied together. He was gagged with a cap, his legs tied, and two Uhlans held him by the hands, two by the legs, and one by the head. At the command of the sergeant four Uhlans gave him one hundred strokes. When he lost consciousness he was revived with

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\* The "Novy Chas" is a nationalist Ukrainian newspaper (published openly in Lviv three times a week. "Surma" is the underground organ of the Ukrainian revolutionists.—Ed.)

water. They stood him on his feet and asked him again, "Have you a rifle?"

When the victim answered in the negative, they flogged him again, and then revived him with water. Finally they threw him out into the courtyard, and later transferred him to the cellar, where other men who had been flogged were lying. There he spent the night. At noon his family was permitted to take him home.

#### CHYZHYKIV, DISTRICT OF LVIV

HUMPHREY HNATYSHYN, born 1885.

On October 22, 1930, the policemen stationed at Hayi and Vynnyky came to Chyzhykiv. The village being situated near the city of Lviv, it was feared that some newspaper correspondents might visit the locality and learn of the damage and destruction wrought by the military expedition. As the military detachment had destroyed the goods and furnishings of the cooperative store, the policemen, finding the cooperative still in disorder, flogged Hnatyshyn.

On the same day, in the same locality, they flogged Stephen Ratushynsky, born 1885, for the same reason. They whipped him until he bled all over. Only then he was told by a policeman, "Go home and wash."

#### PORUDENKO, DISTRICT OF YAVORIV

STEPHEN NYCHKALO, 50 years old.

No punitive expedition visited the village of Porudenko, and therefore nothing was destroyed in the village. But on Sunday, October 5, 1930, there came to Porudenko four Uhlans of the 14th regiment and took Stephen Nychkalo and Michael Nychkalo, the communal scribe, to the reading-room of the village of Nako-nechne, where the 14th regiment of Uhlans was conducting the punitive expedition. Stephen Nychkalo testified that he saw in the reading-room: Corporal Pohorecki, Lukow, Olijarnyk, also mentioned Major Czajkowski. Nychkalo was placed upon a bench, he was gagged with a wet rag; four Uhlans held his hands and legs and two others whipped him. They neither questioned him nor spoke to him, but lashed him 150 times with canes, notwithstanding the fact that he complained of heart trouble. During the whipping he was revived twice with cold water. Later he was thrown out into the courtyard where he was whipped by soldiers until they were tired. Finally a wagon came and took him to Porudenko. Nychkalo lay at home two weeks. On his shoulders he had at first a dark blue wound, then mortification set in and



the flesh began to fall away. At present the wound is of the size of three hands, 5 centimeters long and from 2 to 3 centimeters deep\*). The bottom of the wound is of grey-red appearance of necrotic character. Below it on the left side there is a wound which has a cavity of the size of a small fist.

MICHAEL NYCHKALO received on that occasion 100 strokes.

#### KOTSURIV, DISTRICT OF BIBRKA

KAZIMIERZ WIENIARSKI\*\*), farmer, 36 years old, a director of the reading-room of "Prosvita".

On October 11, 1930, a detachment of the 14th Uhlan regiment brought Wieniarski with 16 other inhabitants of the village of Kotsuriv to Podhorodyshche. The brutalities here were similar to those in other places. He received 300 strokes. Unconscious, he was carted with others to Kotsuriv. At first he treated himself with compresses of cold water mixed with vinegar, but when his fever did not diminish, he had to go to the hospital at Bibrka. While he was in the hospital his wound opened and pus flowed from it for several days. After two weeks the director of the hospital sent him home, saying that he was not allowed to keep him in the hospital any longer. The wound is of the size of a man's palm.

#### MSHANA, DISTRICT OF HORODOK YAHAYLONSKY

PAUL DUDA, member of the reading room and of the village council, 36 years old, a farmer.

Some 20 people were herded into the reading room and in turn called out, one after another, placed upon a bench and flogged with canes. While being flogged, he swooned, was revived with water and flogged again. Fainting a second time, he was again revived with water. One of the soldiers present said, "Now you will know how to build a Ukraine." After he was released, he took a few steps along the street and fell to the ground unconscious.

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\* 1 inch—2.5 centimeters.—Ed.

\*\* Both the baptismal and the family name are Polish.—Ed.

## DROHOVYCHI, DISTRICT OF BIBRKA

ANDREW KOVALCHUK, farmer, 25 years old, member of the reading-room and the cooperative store.

A police detachment came on October 2, 1930. As Kovalchuk came out of his stable, a policeman, who was passing by, asked him why he did not bow to him. "When I pass by, thou\* must bid me good-morning", the policeman said and struck Kovalchuk's face three times. After a short time the police started a search in Kovalchuk's household. They turned everything upside down, and everything that could be, was destroyed. They found nothing (incriminating). Then one of the policeman said, "After we work such destruction in every place, you can have no desire for sabotage." It should be noted that there were no acts of sabotage in the village.

On October 4, 1930, soldiers came to the village. They took nine people to Borynychy, drove them into a stall, and from it called them, one by one, to a barn. Whoever was called had to run to the commandant and to report himself. The commandant asked, "Where are the weapons?"

"I have none."

"Lie down!"

At the first beating he received 105 strokes. "Do you know why you were beaten?" he was asked. "No," he said.

"Lie down again!"

This time Kovalchuk received 90 strokes with a cane.

"And now do you know why you were beaten?"

As he fell to the ground, he could hear the words, "For taking part in politics and for the 'Luh'."

## REKLYNETS, DISTRICT OF ZHOVKVA

PHILLIP TANCHYN, 30 years old, farmer and cooperator.

On one buttock there appears a big wound 2 square decimeters (32 square inches), full of pus, the rest of that buttock and the other one are covered with welts. The punishment was inflicted two weeks ago. He is as white as a sheet and is unable to speak. The deposition is made by his wife and a friend.

On October 11, 1930, a detachment of the 6th regiment of mounted rifle came to the village from Zhovkva. At the early hour of 4 o'clock in the morning a section of the detachment sur-

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\* The singular form of address in "thou" connotes familiarity when used among relatives or friends; contempt and insolence when used by a stranger.  
—Ed.

rounded the entire village lest anyone should try to leave. They forgot, however, about one path leading to the forest.

A great commotion started in the village as the people had already heard of punitive expeditions and their activities in the neighboring village of Stremin. The mayor was called and ordered to summon all the people to the communal building. There the Poles and the Jews were read from a list and released, the remaining, about 120 persons in all, were driven into the courtyard surrounding the school building. A guard was placed here, and then, two by two, they were led, under escort, into the school. When the mayor and the village councillors declared that such a procedure is contrary to the laws, the mayor was thrown out. Not even his declaration that he should be flogged first, if they were to flog at all, was of any avail. They asked for firearms, and then, after the hearings, they forced even the oldest people to perform various "drills," for the purpose of ridiculing the aged. Philip Tanchyn, Anthony Baka (68 years old) and Ivan Bokata, 30 years of age, were badly beaten.

In the village of STREMIN girls were compelled to plait wire whips and to wrap them with linen. The flogging was carried out as everywhere else. After the flogging the entire body of the victim was black. After that the flogged men were lined up at the river and commanded "Fall into the water!" at which they had to jump into the river and to carry out there what the soldiers jeeringly called "Luh exercises." As everybody was obliged to enter the water clothed, whoever had upon his person paper money, receipts or other documents, suffered its total loss. When the victims were ordered to immerse completely, the soldiers, seated on their horses, watched for heads emerging from the water, which they beat with whips. Such "exercises" were repeated several times, allowing five minutes of rest between them.

When the detachment was about to leave the village, the peasants were ordered to kneel down, to bow to the departing soldiers, and thank them for the lesson thus imparted.

The material herein presented constitutes but a trifling portion of what has actually occurred during the so-called pacification of the various districts of Eastern Galicia, on the territory of the voyvodships of Lviv, Tarnopol and Stanislaviv. Presentation of a fuller account was precluded by the situation created during the pacification, as well as by the fact that this pacification was about to be concluded. Collecting the material was made exceedingly difficult, because of hindrance by police and administrative offi-

cials. Many cases are known of arrests of Ukrainian lawyers, on charges of espionage, economic and military, only because the victims appealed to them for legal advice and asked to have complaints filed in the courts against those responsible for the excesses during the pacification. Even physicians who took care of the sick were arrested and searched, and their private houses became objects of attacks by criminal individuals (e. g. Dr. M. Panchyshyn and Dr. Cymbalisty, of Lviv).

The same circumstance also thwarted the confirmation of individual details and facts, which might have received here and there some overcoloring. Such verification lay beyond our powers. But even if only a portion of the material presented is true, the entire pacification is not only a great excess but a still greater wrong, as well as a moral trampling of human dignity of persons of the entire race. This is not only the opinion of the Ukrainian people. Individuals of the Polish race, just and solicitous for the welfare of the Polish nation, have spoken most severely and with the highest indignation about the entire procedure of pacification.

In our motion and its motivation we are going to touch upon only one side of the situation. To the facts described above there were added acts committed by unknown persons to the detriment of various Ukrainian institutions and individual citizens. We have in mind such acts as the blowing up of the Ukrainian school of Lev in Lviv, of the building of the Tsentrosoyus (The Center of the Ukrainian Cooperatives) in Lviv, a bomb attack against the monastery of the Studits, burning down of reading rooms of "Prosvita", and the like. These acts of "revenge" are the consequences of the irresponsible agitation of certain political parties of the Polish people. Of course, the atmosphere created by those acts is most detrimental not only to the Ukrainian people but to the Polish nation as well. Such an atmosphere anarchizes the entire social life and it will be difficult on another occasion to curb unrestrained instincts.

The recent events again revealed in a terrifying manner the old wounds of the relations between the Poles and the Ukrainians, those from before the war as well as after the war. Again a chasm is evident which must fill us all with fear about the future of the two races. As a result of the activities of the police and the army above described, the relations in the voyvodships with a Ukrainian population have become inflamed to such a degree as never before.

We must also declare in a most emphatic manner that during the pacification we did not remain inactive but did all within our



power to inform the authorities about the real and actual course of the action and to ask them to withdraw the punitive detachments of the police and the army, as well as to discontinue to further maltreat innocent people. At the very outset of our motivation we mention our attitude towards the sabotage and arson, which eventually found its highest expression in the common statement of the Ukrainian parties: national-democratic, socialist-radical, and social-democratic.

Outside of that we strove to come into personal touch with the governmental circles through interventions either with the particular voyvodes, or with the organs of safety, or with various Ministries. Such interventions took place in Lviv, Tarnopol, and in Warsaw, in the Ministry of the Interior, of Justice, of Religious Denominations and of Public Education. In these interventions participated deputies, social and political workers, as well as Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who personally went twice to Warsaw, to induce the authorities by personal intercession to change their attitude towards the pacification. We mention here also the intervention of the Ukrainian cooperative workers with the President of the Council of Ministers and with the President of the National Cooperative Council in the Ministry of Treasury on November 5, 1930.

All these interventions brought no results. Notwithstanding various assurances, the pacification was not discontinued. As long as we were condemning incendiarism and sabotage, we were listened to attentively, but a deaf ear was turned to all our fair and just grievances against the conduct of the authorities. The best proof of this attitude is the confiscation by the censor of the pastoral letter of the Greek-Catholic bishops in the matter of arson and sabotage.

As in the first stage of the pacification the object was perhaps to suppress, by such a violent stroke, sabotage and incendiarism, just so in the later stage the punitive expeditions proceeded against the population with certain specifically defined demands. In a great number of localities the punitive expeditions requested the village councils and individual persons to pass resolutions, or to sign declarations, in which the communes, or individuals, "plead" for the dissolution of the existing Ukrainian institutions and societies. The elections were very often mentioned in those resolutions. Under the threat of another punitive expedition the people were forced either to declare themselves willing to vote for the list of the "Non-partizan Bloc of cooperation with the government," or to refrain from voting. Even resolu-

tions in which the people renounce the name of Ukraine and Ukrainians, and accept the name of "Ruthenia and Ruthenians," were proposed.

In conclusion of this motivation of our motion, we must add that the entire pacification not only brought no benefit, but absolutely missed its aim, its usefulness being, amidst the situation created, completely illusory and produced immeasurable results for the country and the future of the two races concerned.

We may as well state here that the present conditions were influenced by certain other circumstances. We have in mind the decrees of the Ministries of Religious Denominations and Public Education by which the State "Gymnasium" (college) in Tarnopol, with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, the Ukrainian private "gymnasiums" of the "Ridna Shkola" Association at Rohatyn and Drohobych were dissolved. Though this matter was done in the manner prescribed by law, yet the facts did not warrant such drastic action by the authorities. If to the harrowing experiences of the pacification be added also these decrees inflicting on the Ukrainian people a grievous damage, the loss of the cultural work of generations, we will be able to understand why sorrow and bitterness find such unusually fertile ground among the people.

In a living racial organism, all this can not but produce certain consequences which must be reflected in the political orientation of society. In the present time, so full of various political emergencies, especially in international relations, such sentiments often find support. A far-seeing statesman must take this into consideration. He must also do everything in his power to minimize the damage arising from the situation, and then do his utmost to banish the memories of the evil done.

Calling attention to these consequences of the activities of punitive expeditions of the police and the army, we think that only an ascertainment of the real state of affairs, calling to account all the guilty persons, to remunerate all the innocent persons for the damages, moral and material, as well as rebuilding of the institutions, cultural and economic, of the Ukrainian people—can help to remove the present atmosphere of high tension between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Poland.

(C)

## TWO NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON THE UKRAINIAN MOTION.

(a)

POLISH NEWSPAPER SUPPORTS THE URGENCY OF THE  
UKRAINIAN MOTION

"The Polish society will surely react to the so-called pacification at least in the same manner as they reacted to the Brest affair. They should do it. Since the facts as revealed by the Ukrainian resolution are a hundred times, a thousand times, worse than the Brest affair! One simply lacks words to express the horror which permeates the reader of the Ukrainian resolution."

ROBOTNIK, the Polish socialist paper of Warsaw.

*(Of course, it is not a communist paper. It is the organ of the party to which Pilsudski once proclaimed his allegiance.*

*It is a comment which is not in conformity with the rest of the Polish press. It is an exception. The rest of the Polish press did not support the resolution of the Ukrainian senators for an investigation of the Ukrainian senators for an investigation of the official terror against the Ukrainians. Not even those Polish newspapers which protested against the arrests and mistreatment of the Poles were fair enough to protest against notoriously much harsher methods used against the Ukrainians as a race, this "Robotnik" excepting.—Ed.)*

(b)

## "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S" COMMENTS.

The Ukrainian interpellation in the Polish Sejm (referred to in my message of Tuesday) was accompanied by a document that is the most comprehensive report hitherto made on the atrocities in Eastern Galicia. This report has now come into my hands. It contains 81 pages of typescript. Of these more than seventy are filled with data, drawn up village by village, giving names of victims and of witnesses as well as many details of injuries done to persons and damage done to property. The report is moderate in its language and precise in its statements of facts.

It does not deny that acts of incendiarism and sabotage were committed by members of the Ukrainian military organisation, the so-called Uwo, but it denies that the Uwo committed more than a part of the excesses laid to its charge. It also points

out that the chief Ukrainian party, the Undo, warned the population against any excesses, and recognised that if they went on the consequences would be serious. The report recognises that the authorities were justified in taking action against individuals, but, so it continues, they also took action against the Ukrainian inhabitants of Eastern Galicia as a whole, who had nothing to do with the excesses committed by a small minority.

The report then passes on to the so-called "pacification," and in its cold precision it leaves little room for hoping that what happened in Eastern Galicia is not far worse than appeared in any previous account. Even Miss Sheepshanks's terrible narrative pales before the accumulation of human outrages revealed in this report.

In a general way these outrages were as described by Miss Sheepshanks and by your special correspondent in Lvoff last November, but this document differs in the greater abundance of harrowing details such as could be collected village by village over a longer period of time. There can be little doubt that the number of persons who were beaten—that is to say, beaten in the horrible manner described by your correspondent in Lvoff—must be reckoned not by scores but by hundreds, and that many of the beatings took place in regions where there had been no acts of sabotage either by the Uwo or by anyone. Yet even this report is not complete.

#### *Villages Still Terrorised.*

To take evidence in the villages was extremely difficult, because the Polish authorities made every effort to prevent it. Eastern Galicia, it must be remembered, is under a terror even to-day. Thus it is still impossible to make estimates of the total number of persons who were beaten or the total damage done. Even the number of those who have died of their injuries is uncertain — a dozen would probably be a low estimate. I have just learned of two further deaths from beatings (deaths hitherto unrecorded).

It may be urged that this report (unlike the reports of Miss Sheepshanks and of your special correspondent, which were based on independent investigation and first-hand knowledge) is Ukrainian, and therefore partisan. But I am able to state that those responsible for drawing it up (their names cannot be mentioned just now, although they are known to me) have done so with the utmost care and the most critical sifting of the evidence. After all, in a report that is submitted to the Polish Sejm, with



its hostile majority, any exaggeration or falsehood would be exposed at once, and would destroy a most formidable case. Thus, while mistakes are, of course, possible, and while evidence taken in remote villages may not be reliable in every single detail, especially when round figures are given, it is to be feared that the statements made in the report are substantially true.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Friday, January 30, 1931).

(D)

"PACIFICATION" IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE SEJM

(a)

The question of "pacification" of Eastern Galicia was debated at the session of the administrative committee on January 21. The matter was reported by ZDZISLAW STRONSKI, who said, among other things, that the motion cannot be discussed without touching upon the whole problem of the Polish-Ukrainian relations. He spoke about "espionage", sabotages, and so on, which, he alleged, had forced the government to use more extreme measures. He demanded rejection of the motion.

Then DEPUTY MICHAEL HALUSHCHYNSKY (of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union) took the floor.

He said among other things: For everything that the Ukrainians possess they have to thank only their own labors. Towards all those acts which the government called by the name of sabotage, which were used as a pretext for pacification, the Ukrainian public took a negative attitude and condemned them. Pacification was not justified by anything. The government justifies the pacification by pointing out to an amount of arms and military materials found. These materials have no importance for warfare, and are without exception materials left from the world war, damaged and dotted. So far not one "pacified" person has been convicted by the courts, and out of thousands of persons arrested during the pacification almost nobody was detained. Pacificatory detachment very often had to inspire themselves by imbibing liquor. In these activities "Swiazek Strzelecki" took part. The whole pacification was directed against the reading rooms of the "Prosvita" and the cooperatives. They were dissolved, and often, as it happened for instance in Sokilnyky, the commandant of the post of gendarmes himself called together a meeting of the reading room and compelled the members to liquidate their society. There are

about a dozen cases of deaths during or following the whipping. The deputy concludes with an appeal to have the matter threshed out thoroughly and to give the Ukrainian people a moral satisfaction and material indemnity for the damages done to them. He who states that in the pacified districts consciously closes his eyes to reality.

DEPUTY CIOLKOSZ, of the Polish Socialist Party, is astonished not to see Minister Skladkowski at the session, who at the moment when pacification has become the object of discussion even in Geneva, has nothing to say in the matter outside of a short fragmentary declaration given in the Budget committee.

In the thirteen years of her existence Poland has made not one step towards the solution of the racial problem. The government has no program in the matter, and forgets even that at least one third of the population of Poland is of non-Polish races, that even according to the government statistics the Ukrainian number 15 per cent.

The Ukrainian people are more numerous than the Polish people. They had already had a foretaste of independence and they cannot forget it.

Out of Poland's 29,292 public schools, there are only 779 Ukrainian schools. Even if we were to add to them all the bilingual schools, still it would be far from 15 per cent.

The Poles carry out no international obligations towards the Ukrainians, they even take away from them their national name.

There is therefore little wonder that the Ukrainian youth becomes desperate. We cannot approve of this. Nor is this commended by the thinking section of the Ukrainian public.

It is a however an unheard-of fact that a whole race should be blamed for the acts of the individuals. Two principles were applied during the pacification: the principle of corporate communal responsibility and that of wholesale punishment. I am afraid that the matter will not stop at the pacification of the Ukrainian people, but that the government and the police will soon pacify also the Polish people, just as the two nationalities were placed on an equal footing at Brest.

It is a strange fact that the pacification should coincide with the elections. The official majority of the Sejm charges the Ukrainians with resorting to propaganda abroad, but one should not forget that the Poles, too, have often appealed to the opinion of the world. Pacification has not solved the Ukrainian problems since peace reigns also in the cemetery. The responsibility for the solution of this problem rests fully upon the B.B. (pro-government "Non-partizan Bloc"). Polish democrats and socialists refuse

to take any responsibility for what happened in Eastern Galicia during the pacification.

DEPUTY KLESZCZYNSKI, of the B.B., says that Eastern Galicia has a mixed population, so intermarried that it is difficult to find Poles who are not affiliated with "Ruthenians". The source of the struggle among them is Berlin. Deputy Ciolkosz, the speaker says, reminded us of the struggle for independence. The Poles remember it well, and this is why they will not allow foreign elements to incite the two brotherly races to struggle.

DEPUTY REV. SZYDELSKI wishes to find the road of coexistence of the Poles and the "Ruthenians". As to the pacification, he wishes to call attention to what proceeded it. The cause of pacification, he says, is found on the side of the "Ruthenian public". The development of the "Ruthenian" institutions and cooperatives proves that the "Ruthenians" have the very best conditions for development. As a result of the violent acts by the Ukrainian institutions the Poles demanded that the government put an end to the crimes. It is difficult to explain the crimes by the activities of communists since many members of Ukrainians institutions were caught in the very act of committing crimes. The speaker does not believe that the motion of the Ukrainian Club leads to the pacification of the minds, and so he will vote against it.

DEPUTY MICHAEL BACHYNSKY, the "representative of the Ruthenian group of the B. B.," declares that he will use in his speech the term "Ruthenian," and not "Ukrainian," since the people of Eastern Galicia are "Ruthenians," although a portion accepted the term "Ukrainian." Eastern Galicia was not annexed to Poland by the force of arms, against the will of the "Ruthenian" people. The war of 1918 was imposed upon the people by the Galician-Ukrainian politicians. This was in understanding with Austria, since Wilhelm Habsburg was to become a Ukrainian king. If in 1918 the people were given an opportunity to declare freely their will, they would have declared themselves against a war with Poland. The conception of that war is a conception of Ukrainian intellectuals, who have on their conscience the blood of more than 80,000 "Ruthenian" people, whom Austria hanged during the war. The "Ruthenians" have to thank the Polish bishops for many pardons (by the Austrian government). It is not the Poles, but the Ukrainians who conducted the pacification of the "Ruthenian" people in 1918. They robbed, requisitioned, killed wholesale, executed. When Poland was reconstructed, terror continued. Peasants saw no way out, hence they believed in the power of the Ukrainian Military organization. And the Ukrainian clergy closes the church

doors before those who are loyal to Poland. The "Ruthenians" are forced to listen to Ukrainian songs. The education of children in the Ukrainian schools is improper, since they are brought up to hate Poland. Sabotages are made for export abroad. A strong government had to resort to reprisals. Pacification has this good side that the "Ruthenian" peasants and the Ukrainian Military Organization came to the conclusion that the State has enough strength to introduce order. For the first time in Eastern Galicia the strong hand of the government was noticed. To be sure, the pacification has created a chasm between the Polish and the "Ruthenian" people, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian people, on the other. Poland helps the "Ruthenian" population with credits, subventions, assistance, and so on. The government has always stretched to Ukrainian politicians a hand to agreement, but it always met with a refusal. All the Poles should support loyal "Ruthenians" in their efforts to free themselves from unhealthy influences. The speaker considers it his duty to vote against the Ukrainian motion. \*

In the evening a vote was taken in the Administrative Committee on the motion of the deputy Zdislaw Stronski. The motion passed with 18 votes against 6. After the vote, DEPUTY HALUSHCHYNSKY in his declaration denied the statement that his party were supported by Berlin.

(b)

DEPUTY MICHAEL HALUSHCHYNSKY'S SPEECH AT THE  
SESSION OF THE SEJM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE  
DELIVERED ON JANUARY 20, 1931, DURING A DEBATE ON  
THE "PACIFICATION".

The characteristic of our speeches and declarations, which in both Houses of the Parliament as well as in their various committees, have for their contents grievances, complaints, and protests, is not the outcome of our character, but of the conditions of our life.

The problem which is the object of this session, by its extent and importance, reaches far beyond all the problems of today. It is even difficult to find an appropriate term to express the enormity of the problem, though the term "pacification" already speaks for itself, that here is a matter far graver than can be called by any other term.

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\* (Taken from "Dilo", Lviv, January 23, 1931.)



Following the example of the gentleman who presented the motion to the committee (Deputy Strosnki, of the B.B.) I have no go back to the past in order to correct first of all those statements according to which the Ukrainian people are represented as completely satisfied with their position and care for no change, and that they accepted the "pacification" as such a fact which freed them of the terror of elements whose tendency was to graft hatred of the Polish government and people, and whose tendency was to spread unrest, and to do this out of the motives dictated by foreign powers, usually some outward power inimical to the Polish State. The information of deputy Strosnki that the Ukrainian people are contented and wish no change in their situation, is completely erroneous, or consciously not true. The Ukrainian people, who have a long history, who have a long contact with the Polish people, state firmly, through their representatives, that the Ukrainian-Polish problem has not been solved yet, and that the events which have taken place during the period of their occupation by Poland, and especially the events of the last days, have made that problem exceedingly difficult. If we are alleged to have no right to represent the Ukrainian masses, or, as the deputy who presented us the report said, we have no right to speak in the name of the Ukrainian people, such statements have no foundation. Surely even the gentleman who uttered those words does not believe them. Quite the contrary, we must state with emphasis that this right we have received from the hands of our people and we enjoy a true and full confidence of the Ukrainian masses.

The Ukrainian-Polish problem is very complex, and who knows if not the only one of its kind. That's why its solution is not so simple. It must be stated that the governmental authorities do not realize this difficulty and console themselves with a cheap view that everything is in due order in the territory of Eastern Galicia and that whatever they have done and are doing is effective and justified. As the entire activity of the government depends upon strong actions, upon punitive expeditions, upon curtailing the rights already acquired, then it follows that such strong policy of the government is the acme of state wisdom. In the meanwhile the problem requires a deep and delicate analysis, a conscientious study, examination of conditions, obstacles and difficulties, it demands hard labor and efforts, knowledge of the Ukrainian racial entity, the curtailment of the rash actions of Polish individuals and the entire Polish public, so as to present a model of order which would give, if not a full then at least a partial satisfaction, of the needs of the Ukrainian people.

In the period of the Austrian occupation the Ukrainian people stood on equal footing with the Polish people in their relations to the central government in Vienna. This equality was often violated in the name of the principle "Divide et impera," each time in favor of the Polish element. Still the Ukrainian people continued to create by their own zeal and labor a culture of their own, to cristalize themselves into a racial unity, and had one clear racial-political idea, the expression of which was their fiery tendency towards the creation of their own state. In armed conflicts the Ukrainian people realized their own Statehood. To be sure, this was only for a short time, because in the following conflicts it lost out, under the pressure of preponderating powers, and found itself within the Polish nation, at first in the state of preliminary undefined relation, later, after 1923, according to the decision of the Council of Allied Ambassadors, on the basis of international obligations undertaken by the Polish government. This tragic passage from independence to dependence was exceedingly painful and difficult and many people had experienced great difficulty in reconciling themselves with the hard facts of life. This was the more difficult as whatever happens with the Ukrainian people in Poland is nothing else but the reduction of this great and live race to the level of citizens of the secondary, if not tertiary category in political respect, and to the level of most primitive existence in cultural respect.

We hear very often, and we heard even today from the lips of the deputy who made the report to the committee, that the great and rank growth of the Ukrainian culture, enlightenment and economics is a proof of something completely different, namely, of the great benevolence and well-wishing treatment of those organizations by the Polish Government. If there were none of that favorable treatment, they say, such a splendid development of those institutions would be impossible. The same statement was made before the known conference of foreign correspondents arranged by the Minister of the Interior in October 1930, that is when the so-called "pacification" of the Ukrainian territory stood at its height. From this place we must state once more that the entire development of Ukrainian people is exclusively our own work, an outcome of the hard resolution to do the constructive work, the work which the Polish government and even the Polish public, with few exceptions, obstructed and still obstructs by raising unique obstacles. In all the period of our life under Poland we have never experienced a trifle of benevolence, not even in one sphere. We lost our schools. Our cultural de-

velopment is under a heavy oppression. Our cultural and economical life is deprived of all assistance. They have not the credits due to them; and the agrarian reform has become a tool for further wronging the Ukrainian farming population. The organs of autonomy are distorted to such an extent that they cannot bring our people any benefits, but are twisted to harm our people wherever possible. We want to have hope that the new autonomous laws, whose preparation is now spoken of, will bring us some change.

Whenever the Ukrainian representatives in the previous Parliaments raised their voices to make fully justified demands, their voices found no hearing. They could not succeed even in obtaining assistance for their cultural institutions, and the support voted was rather a sneer than any real assistance. They have, for instance, voted 2,000 zlotys for the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment). This is for a society which has a yearly turnover of about a million zlotys. In 1930, all the support was denied to it on the ground that the funds were exhausted. Let us grant that certain economies were introduced then, but why should all the economies be applied only to Ukrainian institutions? And this in spite of the fact that it was said at the Budget debate of the Parliament that the needs of Ukrainian institutions would be recognized.

All this hostile atmosphere (towards the Ukrainians) creates the substratum on which grows the Ukrainian unrest, which time and time again explodes and tries to speak with a cry of its long-suffering soul and to reveal the wish of the people to live, to develop, to create values for themselves and for others. That is the reason why we have to look frankly and impartially at the conditions of the life of the Ukrainian people, and not to close our eyes to the reality and not to cheat ourselves. Only then we will succeed in realizing the immensity of the problem and the danger of the situation. Only in this manner we will start to cure, but not with those innumerable reprisals, which were applied to the Ukrainian people, the capping point of which was the so-called pacification which the deputy who presented us with the report tried so hard to whitewash and extenuate.

It cannot be denied that during the period beginning with the occupation of the Ukrainian people by the Polish State to the so-called pacification there were no acts of revolutionary character. They may be regarded as voices supplementing the utterances of the elements in that respect that they clearly pointed out to the abnormality of the conditions amidst which the Ukrain-

ian people are forced to live. In the meantime the deputy who presented the report to the committee repeats once more the old thesis of dubious value according to which the fault for all the manifestations of unrest fall upon a certain part of the Ukrainian public and then, entering upon the characterization of the existing conditions, sees the contentment of the Ukrainian people, simply an idyl in which the Ukrainian and the Polish people partake. He represents that matters so as if the Ukrainian political leaders were the only one to stir the peace, to trouble peaceful waters, and this they are doing, he says, not as those who express and champion the masses, but only as expression of the thoughts of certain groups and various suspicious influences. According to this deputy, the magnanimity and benevolence of the Polish public went so far that nobody can quote even one example of insult or profanation of the Ukrainian national or cultural or even church holidays by the Polish public. He says that there were no (Polish) attacks on Ukrainian institutions, no destruction of Ukrainian national monuments. He points only to one incident which is an exception in his opinion, namely, to the fact that the Polish school youth, reacting to the destruction of a tablet in memory of Szajnocha on the building of one of the Polish Gymnasiums in Lviv, concluded their mass parade by breaking windows in several Ukrainian institutions. Further excesses, he says, were prevented by the Polish police, with great difficulty. The deputy has evidently forgotten about a whole series of pogrom parades which have taken place in the preceding years. When they could be excused on the ground that they were provoked by certain demonstrative acts on the Ukrainian side, then no excuse can be found for those acts which the Poles started themselves. And we may name many such cases in which Ukrainian national, cultural, even religious festivities were profaned by individuals, whole groups of organized masses. Two years ago they profaned the religious festivity of Jordan in Horodok. There is the notorious fact of a pogrom of a reading-room at Vynnyky during an exhibition. Various attacks of the "Strzelcy" and disturbances of the Ukrainian people in their cultural centers and during their various festivals are also well known. If there were also facts of destruction and profanation of Polish monuments, this was done by unknown individuals, but they were always charged to the Ukrainians, though the perpetrators were unknown, although the Ukrainian press and public as a rule condemned all such acts, while the Polish public never criticized in a similar manner similar acts on the part of the Polish public, especially on the part of the Polish



students, organized into the branches of the "Strzelcy". There is in our country not even one cemetery or collective grave on which the crosses were not cut. There is not one grave of Ukrainian soldiers fallen in the struggle for the freedom of the race, whose monument was not damaged. Many an interpellation was filed with the Polish Parliament quoting disturbance of the sleep of the idealistic champions of the freedom of the Ukrainian people (Lysonya, Kluch, Makivka) by the Polish police. How far the intolerance of this respect goes, let me use the following fact of the latest days: the reading-room in Kryvenke, district of Husyatyn, was dissolved lately, the motive being: the society has overstepped the sphere of its activity as some members of the reading-room took part in the Mass celebrated in memory of those who had fallen and were buried in a common grave in Tovstenke.

I am coming now to the events of the last months. There began frequent acts of burning of stacks of hay and grain. Who were the perpetrators of those criminal acts, is not known to this very day since the investigations went not in the direction of discovery of the culprits, but in a direction completely different. The deputy who gave us the report himself keeps on talking of the unknown perpetrators, confirming again and again that the people are calm and innocent. And yet against them, their life, health, and property, against their cultural achievements, against the fruits of their cultural work, were applied such methods which cannot be included into the conception of the legal procedure by governmental authorities towards its citizens. Deputy Stronski, in his report, and now you, gentlemen, in your speeches quote against me the words and statements of the "Surma" (Clarion), which takes all the acts of "sabotage" (one surely cannot consider burning down of private property for an act of sabotage) upon its own responsibility and notes that behind each of these acts there is an order of the Ukrainian Military Organization. First of all, I must say that nobody of us saw those numbers of the "Surma". It is only you who have them in your hands. At any rate, one may infer from your words that those things are done after the accomplished fact and with special aims in view. What were the motives which moved those who wrote that is not known. We hear only from the American press that all this is being done with the aim of showing a certain activity, so that in this manner funds should grow for further activities. We, however, may state that our information tells us of something completely different. If even a certain portion of the acts of incendiarism was caused by the Ukrainian Military Organization,

then surely a great percentage of those acts of incendiarism was to be attributed to conscious provocateurs, and then to the conscious speculation of the proprietors of grain. This was confirmed by the voyvoda of Lviv during a press conference in Lviv. You do not believe my words and you raise a tumult against my words. And how can you explain the frequent and common arsons of hay and grain stacks in the purely Polish provinces?

As I have already mentioned, the investigations by the authorities were not directed towards discovery of the guilty persons. On the other hand, comments were heard in a great portion of the Polish press, and then also in the greater part of the Polish public, to the effect that the Polish public should have a revenge on the Ukrainian public, which should go as far as a complete destruction of the entire Ukrainian life. The deputy who presented the report mentioned only a meeting held in Tarnopol, at which some sober individuals were not even admitted to speak. We will add to this that such a meeting was held not only in Tarnopol, but in various other places. They were called everywhere. They were called together by the organization of the "defenders", political, and other. They were called under various pretexts. They were called before the "pacification" started and during it. And the resolutions of all those meetings, to the meeting of the Students of higher Polish schools in Lviv which was held as late as October 1930, said nothing about the culprits, but their resolutions were directed against the entire Ukrainian race, against all their public and private institutions.

The situation created by this compelled the Ukrainian political leaders to a serious consideration of the situation, at the very end of August and the beginning of September. You ask, gentlemen, why so late? The answer is very simple. During the vacation the leaders were scattered, and as soon as the vacation was over they could come together to discuss the situation and to take proper steps before the administrative authorities. The more so as we have heard rumors that the government was about to apply severe measures, but the "Eastern Fair," which was then held in Lviv, made the government put off the use of severe measures for the period after September 15th, in view of the presence of foreigners in the country.

We intervened first with the local authorities; the proof thereof are our delegations with the voyvodas of Lviv and Tarnopol. We presented this condition to these officers, called their attention to the fact that nothing is done to stop arsons, that the Polish government tolerates Polish press comments calling to "revanche"

against Ukrainians. The voyvoda of Lviv, when deputy Tsele-nych visited him, demanded from us a condemnation of the campaign of arsons. Although we explicitly stated that we have no connection with any illegal activities, we said we would take this under advisement and would propose the matter to the party. We pointed out that by condemning the Ukrainian side, the role of which is not proved, we would have to condemn also the acts of the polish side, and also those acts of the government authorities which instead of helping the situation make it still worse and more difficult.

There began in the articles of the "Dilo," the "Novy Czas" and other Ukrainian newspapers a campaign against arsons. Finally there was issued an appeal of the three Ukrainian parties, of the Ukrainian Democratic Union (UNDO), the Radicals and the Socialists, in which they clearly and explicitly condemned arsons and denied all the responsibility on their part as well as on the part of the organized Ukrainian public, for all the acts of unknown perpetrators.

And in spite of this there came to us the first horrible news of the pacification. We had to intervene in Warsaw. In the delegation there took part myself, besides me, Dr. Dmytro Levytsky, the chairman of the UNDO, who already had been once in Warsaw with the Minister of the Interior, and once with the voyvoda of Lviv. When we came to Warsaw the first time, we were convinced that the form in which the pacification had been carried out was not only not dictated by Warsaw, but even was unknown to it, being merely excesses of the local organs. We were sure that we would not only gain access but also an order that pacification should be discontinued, and in its place another order would be issued in the common interest of the two races, namely, the order to look for the guilty persons and to punish them no matter who they were. It must be admitted that we heard that we received each time an assurance that pacification is about to end or has already been stopped. Some doubts were voiced as to the information brought by us, and in one place in Lviv we were told that the events are rather grotesque, but not an abuse by the authorities. At any rate we left with a kind of consolation that the horrible process of pacification would end.

Besides the political leaders Metropolitan Sheptytsky took upon himself the difficult task of intervention, dictated by the deep and sincere wish to serve by his influence and dignity, the aim of pacification and appeasement of the situation. After his first in-

tervention with Minister Skladkowski he was under the impression that his intervention would be crowned with success. That this was his inward conviction is proved by his interview which he published the very same day in one of the Warsaw papers. But what was his astonishment when the intercession of Metropolitan Sheptytsky was met with calumnious attacks against his person by semi-official circles and semi-official press. And still he did not stop in his work and continued it as he understood it to be his duty, irrespective of how it was accepted.

In the meanwhile pacification proceeded. It lasted not one day, not even one week, but fully three months. It embraced not one locality, but the territory of whole districts and provinces.

*(Some 14 lines of the speech suppressed by the censor.—Ed.)*

When the deputy who made the report has devoted so much time to the characterization of the conditions and depicted so long the idyl in which the Polish and the Ukrainian people live, then he would have settled the pacification and our entire motion by a few words, adding in his motivation that the facts given by us in our motivation are inexact, or even untrue. We must state beforehand that all the facts presented by us are absolutely true, although they may appear to be hard to believe. And they are true for two reasons:

*(23 lines of the speech suppressed by the Polish censor.—Ed.)*

It is another problem when we speak of the exactness of the data. They may be said to be inexact in the respect that the material here collected is by far not complete, both as to its mass and as to its intensity.

We have prepared something of a summary out of the materials, of all the reports and minutes collected. We have done this in order to ward off all the charges of exaggeration, although the Ukrainian peasant has simply iron strength and is able to stand things which nobody else has the power to stand. The materials are inexact also because the collection of the materials met with simply unbelievable obstacles and difficulties. The auditors of the Auditing Union of the Ukrainian Cooperatives were flogged (e. g. at Shyshkivtsi, district of Horodenka); lawyers to whom appeals were made for advice and counsel, were arrested on the charge of economic espionage, as this was the case, among other cases, in the city of Tarnopol. A classical example of this was the arrest of Dr. Selezinka, lawyer of Radekhiv, and his wife. All the collection of facts has become a crime. On this background there were arrested many persons in the city of Lviv; even



correspondents of foreign newspapers were detained. We understand the uneasiness of the government in view of the interest of the foreigners in the events in Poland. But the fault lies with the authors of the affair. We did not call foreign correspondents. They came to us themselves. I think that it would not have been better if we had denied them all the information as then they would write that we are afraid of reprisals. The government authorities also took advantage of the fact that some foreign correspondents appealed to us. Many a foreign delegate came of himself to destroy the traces of pacification. When in some localities near Lviv (Vynnyky, Hayi, Pidberiztsi, and others) a government visit was to be held, the police prepared the ground beforehand, ordering the people to set the reading-room in order as soon as possible. When the people refused passively they threatened the people, and in some cases really beat them up (to compel them to do as bidden). I can hear, gentlemen, from your laugh that you are astonished that such a destruction could be fixed so quickly. It is a simple matter. Everything that was destroyed, torn as for instance books, were removed or burnt, panes were replaced, doors, shelves fixed, floors were set in order by the effort of the victims themselves. And that there were such destructions, here I have a few photographs. Two of them represent the branches in Tarnopol, one a reading-room in Kryvenke, district of Husyatyn. And finally what can be more painful for a cultural institution than the destruction of its most beautiful property, its pride, such as its library? That the traces of the destruction still exist let it be attested by the fact that the supreme officer of the district of Sokal issued on January 1, 1931, a circular to all the reading-rooms of the district to replace the windows in the reading-rooms and to bring them back to order, under the punishment of 100 zlotys.

It is quite self-evident that there could have happened in the press such examples of inexactness as the obituary of Rev. Mandziy, of the parish of Bohatkivtsi, district of Pidhaytsi, which was published in the "Dilo." The horrors which took place threw upon everything such a dose of plausibility that a fact of death did not astonish anybody. This however, gives nobody a moral right, neither the deputy who made the report, anybody else to question facts in our motion, or to go so far as to call everything written there a falsehood.

Quite the contrary, one should state that the deputy who made the report repeated the same thing several times in his enumeration of the acts of sabotages, that fires which were marked down by the police as resulting from carelessness he attributed to sabotagists.

This will be answered by my colleague. And it simply is hard to believe that the deputy who made the report should so calmly state that pacification has caused no deaths. Here are a few facts. In the village of Hayi there died as a result of flogging Michael Tiutko; in the hospital of Lviv there died as a result of floggings Stephen Kitsera, of Kotsuriv, district of Bibrka. In the village of Vasyuchyn the police killed shepherd Michael Movchan. The shots were fired when the people were fleeing before the soldiers of the expedition into the forest.

It is also a characteristic fact that the number of criminal facts stands in no proportion to those who are detained in prisons nor to the amount of compromising materials. Out of the thousands who were arrested there remain in the jails only a small number. No trials were held so far and we are still waiting for them. The compromising literature was planted, and all the rifles, bayonets, are nothing else than useless material which wallows about everywhere as remnants of a great war. And those bombs of American origin which were found in the attic of the Ukrainian Gymnasium in Rohatyn, surely had nothing in common with the gymnasium, its pupils, or its teachers. It was not found during the first very thorough search which was made in the building, and during which the building was searched from its foundations to the roof, but only several days later. One of the police, without thinking much, stepped over to the old stove in the attic and produced out of it the bomb.

If we are talking of the searches, let me already state the fact that we have here two searches. The first of them was a real search, but it has nothing in common with the legal act of the same name. . . . The second search is contrary to the provisions of the Polish Constitution which in its Art. 98 explicitly speaks of the treatment of citizens even if they were greatest criminals.

*(Again a dozen lines deleted by the censor. The portion evidently contains the deputy's criticism of the manner in which searches are made in Poland and in which the police, during such searches, plant incriminating evidence to find it at another search to follow.—Ed.)*

I could perhaps understand the destruction of property, not only of individuals, but also of institutions, as I try, even if this surpasses my powers, to treat the events of pacification with great calmness, but when I recall the whipping of people, when I stop to consider the horrible sum of many hundreds of flogged people,—I am speaking moderately: hundreds of flogged people, our best people, prominent public men, presidents and members

of the executive bodies of various cultural, economic, educational institutions, when I think of them subjected to the most humiliating punishment of all, then I will say frankly that here all poise comes to an end. So far I have calmly stood for various derisive remarks made by the majority on the pacification. In this case, however, I fail to understand their laughter. It seems to me that if such a hand touched me I would do all in my power to see that the perpetrator of such a flogging should come a corpse out of this situation, no matter who he is.

In addition to the materials presented by us in our motion, we are receiving day after day new ones, more fully provided with signatures, which we will present to the Minister. Here, however, I will quote one of the very characteristic letters, written by Mr. Nakonechny of the village of Krive, an old man, a retired government official, a peaceful social worker. He was whipped, then arrested, and so was his wife, a Polish woman, nee Grabowska, of Kenty, near Biala, who had not broken relations with her race. The letter describes, day by day, what both the Nakonechnys have passed through. Many people are mentioned in it, the letter ends with the request that, in my report to the government I should omit the names of two persons, for fear lest a personal revenge should reach them.

But you would be very much mistaken if you were to think that pacification has been concluded. Wild instincts once given free reign cannot so easily be subdued. In the village of Juryn in the district of Chortkiv, the members of the "Strzelec" attacked during the Christmas holidays the local reading room, summoned assistance of the members of the "Strzelec" of Slobidka Jur. and the assaults of the peaceful members of the reading-room were conducted. . . . When a few days later some one broke the windows of a member of the "Strzelec" of Juryn, a raid was made upon the reading-room, its members were flogged, one of them was flogged severely and was driven, on the following day, to the prison in the town of Chortkiv. In the meantime, the investigation proved that the windows of the "Strzelec" of Juryn had been broken by his own comrades from the neighboring village of Slobidka.

And that the "Strzelec" amuse themselves with impunity, of this they speak in the open, and every day brings us forever newer and newer data of the "idyllic" relations between the two faces in the sphere of public and private, cultural and economic life.

The present pacification refers primarily to the manifestations of the cultural life of the people. From the very first day of the

pacification all the Ukrainian institutions were disliked by those who conducted pacification. Upon the members of the institutions demands were made to dissolve "voluntarily" the institutions by the vote of the members themselves. We have a long series of documents which attest to the veracity of our words in this respect. We have decisions of the executive boards, we have reports of the police posts about the "voluntary" dissolution of reading-rooms and other organizations. In one case we have a detailed description how, starting with October 2, 1930, the police post of Zolotnyky, day after day, to the very first days of the month of December harrassed the members of the executive board of the reading-room to force them to call together the general meeting of the reading-room and dissolve it. After all the members of the board had resigned their offices, the commandant of the police post himself composed a notice of the general meeting to be held, giving the order of the day for the meetings, and threatening that he would call the members to it by force.

The chairman calls to my attention that my time is up. In view of this I have to conclude, though it would need twice as much time to say everything that one has to say in order to take into view the horror of the pacification in its entirety. It would take at least ten hours to describe all the cases in full, to exhaust all the modest material which we have on hand.

I must add a few words to support our motion. In the words of the Minister and the deputy who made the report there was evident the thought that a curtain should be drawn over the events of the pacification and that we should try to find enough peace so as to be able to seek plans by which we could come to an understanding and to ordering of the mutual relations of co-existence of the two races. One could have nothing against such a thought. But a prerequisite of all such plans must be in the first place the settlement of all such questions as those concerning the period preceding and connected with, the pacification. There must be a verification of the facts, there must be also some moral and material satisfaction given us for all the damages done to the Ukrainian people and their cultural, educational and economic life.

The assurance alone by the authorities that the investigation is being conducted is not enough for us. When our representations so far have not found a hearing and understanding, when even the Memorandum of the dated November 15, 1930, was not considered worthy of a reply, then also the assurances that the investigation is being conducted, without the Parliament making it obligatory upon the government to conduct such an investigation



and giving a report of it, would be merely a common shelving of the matter. Should we leave this matter in such a state as proposed by the deputy who made the report, then we will have to return to it forever as to an unsettled bill. Here to the full chalice of suffering was added another bloody drop which passed already beyond the brim. This would be merely a continuation of the abnormal state, which will merely feed the existing unrest. We know that this is to a degree unpleasant to the government. But no matter how unpleasant this duty would be, it is better to look at the situation with open eyes than with closed eyes.

Any other attitude would be detrimental from the standpoint of the reason of State, which the majority defend so heatedly. The essence of our motion is justified in every respect, and its consummation is dictated above all doubts by the reasons of state.

The "Novy Chas" and "Dilo", Lviv, January 1931.

(c)

#### IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING OF THE SEJM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Besides the Brest affair and the problem of elections there is still another matter which puts its indelible stamp both upon the sessions of the Houses and their various committees, and this is the "pacification" of Eastern Galicia.

The very first speeches of the Ukrainian and Polish Opposition members, especially during the debate on the budget of the Ministry of the Interior, have depicted properly the horrors of the "pacification." Lately this matter was the center of attraction during the meetings of the Administrative Committee of the Sejm, which was held on January 20.

The organization and conduct of the meetings is today completely in the hands of the majority, which takes a full advantage of all the prerogatives of leadership, pushing this advantage beyond the limits of decency. They render the position of the Opposition still more difficult than it is, with the special purpose in mind of reducing the immense problem to something small, if not completely trifling.

With this purpose in view, the problem of "pacification" was scheduled for the consideration of the Committee without a previous session having been held first for the purpose of naming the member who would have to make a report. The deputy who was to bring the report was appointed beforehand, by the chairman

of the Committee, Mr. Polakewicz appointing Deputy Stronski, of the B.B. The business of the day became known to the members of the Opposition groups only before the very meeting, and the text of the Ukrainian Club's motion was not distributed. Only thanks to the preparedness of the Ukrainian deputies as well to their activities aiming at a thorough discussion of the matter especially with the members of the Polish Opposition, the Opposition within the Committee was not taken by a surprise but came prepared to defend their positions.

That the Ukrainian motion would not win a majority, was foreseen, though it could be supposed that for the sake of decency itself the second portion of the motion would be passed in which the government was appealed to inquire into the matter, to punish those guilty of excesses, to ascertain damages and to pay for them and to report on those activities to the Sejm.

It is also interesting that the Government treated the affair contemptuously. Minister Skladkowski excused himself with personal causes from coming to the meeting; he pleaded the lack of time, besides he had already given minute explanations to the Budget Committee. The further conduct of the meeting consisted of such a distribution of lights and shadows as to create in the majority the necessary impression. Fair play demanded that the chair gives the floor to the members in the order in which they applied for the privilege, or, if the chairman wanted to take advantage of the right to set the order of the speakers, he should at least allow the second Ukrainian speaker to have the floor directly before the member who had brought the report and who was to be the last speaker. In such a case the Ukrainian speaker could at least declare himself as to the greater number of the facts alleged by the pro-government deputies. The chair, however, heaped all the Ukrainian and Polish Opposition speakers into one group and all the "heavy guns" of the pro-government party were brought into the action at the end of the session.

Among the heavy cannons there was brought Bachynsky, a deputy of the B.B. group, a "Russian," once notorious commissar of the National Home, who now delivered the most scandalous speech equal of which could not have been delivered by the worst enemy of the Ukrainian people. To be sure, all the speakers of the B.B. and Rev. Shydelski, of the Christian Democarts, attacked the Ukrainian deputies, the Ukrainian leaders, airing a great many invented charges, but they did not attack the people themselves, their history or their efforts. Terroristic and revolutionary activities they characterized in various ways, some even calling it

bought crimes, but the race itself was not attacked. What is sacred to the Ukrainian race was condemned only by a hireling, who was openly a Russian menial, now a Polish menial, calling himself a "Russian," and masking behind the screen of loyalty. One could observe on the faces of Polish deputies disgust. Even some of the B.B. group drooped their eyes, as if ashamed to take upon their own account this degenerated brood. Still some were found who applauded the hireling.

The B.B. Club as a whole took the stand that all the reports of the events were not true, and that if there were any abuses they were excused by the requirements (of the pacification). Allegations about Berlin and money from Berlin were not missing either. Deputy Kleszczynski glorified the flogging and threatened that the iron hand would continue to be used, and Rev. Szydelski, of the Christian Democracy, started his smart speech with Christian virtues, but placed all the responsibility for the events upon the shoulders of the Ukrainian public, alleging among other things that the Polish people live in a continuous fear of the Ukrainian terror and the Polish government supports nobody but the Ukrainians. And here he again mentioned Berlin.

A special portion of abuse was directed against Metropolitan Sheptytsky (by Deputy Kleszczynski), Bishop Buchko and a great portion of the Ukrainian clergy (Deputy Baczynski).

Amidst such organization of the debates the role of the Ukrainian deputies is difficult, indeed. M. Halushchynsky spoke immediately after the deputy who presented the report. It was really he who presented the case, in his speech of one hour and a half. The second speaker, Deputy KUZYSK, supplemented the speech of the preceding speaker and corrected the false data presented by the deputy who gave the report, throwing a great deal of light upon the method with which the police conducted the inquiry, which he had opportunity to observe with his own eyes.

Very interesting was also the stand taken by Deputy RYMAR, a Polish National Democrat. In his opinion, the "pacification" is an important matter as it is written and spoken about by the entire world. Especially painful are the comments of the Catholic press, which reprinted Bishop Buchkos's letter. This voice hurts the Polish Nation's prestige. The deputy thinks that every citizen has the right to point out concrete facts of the violation of laws and to demand that the government verify what is the true state of affairs and punish the guilty ones. When the Ukrainian Club makes such a motion, it is the duty of deputies to support such a demand in their own interest and in the interest

of the State. The speaker's Club will vote for the second part of the Ukrainian motion as one being in accord with the law and order.

The speeches of the Socialist deputies CIOLKOSZ and GRECZNAROWSKI are especially commendable. The former emphasized the great ideals of the Ukrainian people and noted what difficulties they have on the road towards the realization of their ideals. He emphasized the fact that the present majority of the Polish Parliament have no plan, even no program for the solution of the Polish-Ukrainian problem, one of the most important questions of the Polish Nation. By means of statistical and similar data he illustrated the exceedingly difficult position of the Ukrainian people. He declared that the two races would reach an understanding over the heads of the Parliamentary majority and would introduce the program of his party, which is the program of territorial autonomy.

DEPUTY GRECZNAROWSKI read the strongest passages of the Ukrainian motion and in this way supported the necessity of voting in its favor.

In vote the motion of the deputy who presented the report was accepted, 18 deputies voting for it (the members of the B.B. and Rev. Szydelski, of the Christian Democracy). The Ukrainian motion was thus rejected, 6 deputies voting for it. For the motion voted, besides the Ukrainians, the members of the Polish Socialist Party and the (Polish) National Labor Party; the (Polish) National Club refrained from voting. Deputy Halushchynsky offered the Ukrainian motion as the motion of the minority.

In his conclusive correction Deputy Halushchynsky resolutely refuted the charge that the Ukrainian political and cultural life rested upon Berlin money, or received any money from that source.

"Dilo," Lviv, January 25, 1931.

*(Mr. Bachynsky is not a Ukrainian in spirit. No matter what his origin, he has never taken part in the national movement which he now claims to represent. In fact, he has always opposed it, considering himself not a Ukrainian. When Tsarist Russia ruled Volhynia, he considered himself a Russian, now since the Polish occupation of the country, he considers himself a "Ruthenian," which would be something like a man of Ukrainian origin with no aspirations for his race. Naturally, he would not care for the cultural or economic development of the race. Still less does he care for the political organization of the race. Of course, he could not have been elected by a free vote of the Ukrainian people. He was nominated to run in the pro-government party, and his election was "made" by the government in the usual way in which the elections of other men of that party*



were made, which is by frauds and terror practiced upon those whom he now claims to represent.

That the government should have any connection with such characters may appear strange, but it is nothing unusual in Poland, as the Warsaw correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" testified, when describing the methods of "making" elections in the German provinces of Poland. The services which the Polish government obtains from characters of this kind are illustrated by the above speech by Mr. Bachynsky. He claims not only to belong to the race with which he had claimed to have nothing in common, but also to be a representative of it, nay, the only true representative of it. The Polish Ukrainophobe and pro-government press bears him out in that claim,—as if it were their business to decide who is the representative of the Ukrainian people,—and the Polish offices of foreign propaganda had announced him and his like long ago as representatives of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. The "Manchester Guardian," November 19, 1930, reported that the Polish Press Bureau in London issued a statement on the recent Polish elections, in which it advertises before hand these new deputies as a Polish promise to eliminate the regular Ukrainian leaders as a political factor in Ukraine, "The Ukrainian Nationalists have lost the monopoly of representing the interests of the Ukrainian minority as opposed to the interests of the Polish State."

It would be profitable for the reader to observe how Mr. Bachynsky represents the Ukrainian national movement. He denounces it. There is simply no misfortune of Galicia that he does not blame upon the Ukrainian movement. The Ukrainians made the people to war against the Poles, thus killing many thousands of persons. It was the Ukrainian leaders who were at fault for the Austrian persecutions of the Ukrainians, for which the Ukrainian leaders suffered with others. The Ukrainians conducted a "pacification" of Galicia, in 1918. The peasantry are duped by them into believing that the Ukrainian Military Organization can do everything. The Ukrainian clergy are Ukrainian chauvinists, who drive away from churches those loyal to Poland, and such similar stories.

He goes even further. He denies the very existence of the Ukrainian national movement. He says that only a portion of the "Ruthenians" in Galicia have adopted the term of the "Ukrainians". He knows nothing of the war of the Ukrainians for their national independence, though of this war the Poles themselves have many things to tell. He thinks that Galicia did not care for independent Ukraine, but to be united with Poland. All the war, Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918-1920, was an Austrian intrigue, though as a matter of fact, whenever Austria had power to intrigue, she preferred to intrigue with the Poles rather than with the Ukrainians. That an unemployed Hapsburg might have had cast his eye upon the Ukrainian throne, is not argument against the Ukrainian movement, not more than the fact that another Hapsburg laid claim to the Polish crown.

*Poland might derive some momentary benefits from such an incident as that of having a supposed Ukrainian deputy denounce the Ukrainian national movement. But what are the more lasting effects of the employment of such men by the government? Is the cause of peaceful co-habitation of the Polish and the non-Polish races, which is proclaimed by the Polish government to be its chief care, advanced by such a policy? The irritation of the "Dilo's" correspondent when writing the above report gives us a hint of the consequences. And not everybody has the chance to vent his irritation in print. There were cases in which some Ukrainians settled the matter by killing such "leaders". This, one may condemn as an act of violence, but violence begins with the Polish government electing such men by means of frauds and terror and then saddling them, before the whole world, upon the Ukrainians as their representatives or leaders. After such a revolutionary act the government is unable to secure more such "leaders",—being in politics for benefits they are easily scared,—unless it may look for them in a more backward province,—and in the meanwhile it complains to the world that the Ukrainians terrorize those sober politicians who want to make peace with the Polish State. Such men have no conciliation between Poland and the Ukrainians in mind, nor for that matter has Poland, which whenever it wishes to speak with the real Ukrainian representatives brushes aside its own creatures to speak with those whom it had set its creatures to denounce. Of course, then it will find its chances of conciliation greatly diminished, among other things, by the employment of such men for the purpose of denouncing the regular movement.—Ed.)*

(E)

#### "PACIFICATION" IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE

The Administrative Committee of the Sejm debated, on January 28, the motion of the Ukrainian Club on the "Pacification" of Eastern Galicia.

The report before the Committee was made by Senator Rolle, of the B.B. He said that it can be confirmed already today that the main author of the "pacification" was the Ukrainian Military Organization. If the Ukrainian intellectuals led by Metropolitan Sheptytsky had taken a clear stand on the sabotages, there would have been no sabotages and hence also no pacification.

There is no hatred in Eastern Galicia of the "Ruthenian" people (on the part of the Poles), quite the contrary, there is a tendency afoot towards cooperation. As the Ukrainian parties do not know how to emancipate themselves from demagoguery, the Polish public, and especially the pro-government camp, will try to find an understanding with the "Ruthenian" people above the heads of the Ukrainian leaders.

Senator Rolle made the motion: THE SENATE RECOGNIZES THAT THE ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE THREE EASTERN PROVINCES ISSUED WITH THE PURPOSE OF INSURING FOR THE ENTIRE POPULATION OF THESE PROVINCES A PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY AS WELL AS OF PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS FROM THE CRIMINAL ACTS WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE TERRITORY WERE MOTIVATED AND NECESSARY. ALL THE MATERIAL PRESENTED AS MOTIVATION FOR THE SENATE MOTION, IS TO BE PASSED TO THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.

SENATOR MAKUKH (Ukrainian Radical) in a long speech quoted a whole series of abuses. He made the following motion: THE SENATE CALLS UPON THE GOVERNMENT TO INQUIRE IN THE SHORTEST TIME POSSIBLE INTO THE FACTS AND EXTENT OF THE EXCESSES WHICH WERE COMMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENTAL ORGANS IN THE TERRITORY OF THREE EASTERN PROVINCES, TO ASCERTAIN THE DAMAGES, TO PUNISH THE GUILTY ONES AND TO PRESENT A REPORT TO THE SENATE.

SENATOR KLUSZYNSKA, of the Polish Socialist Party, and SENATOR WOZNICKI, of the Polish Peasant Club, seconded the motion.

SENATOR GLOMBINSKI, of the National Club, declared that his club recognizes the motion of the Ukrainian Club to be a just one, but in view of the fact that the Ukrainian Club has already appealed in this matter to Geneva, the Senator is of the opinion that he had better not discuss the matter (in the Polish Parliament) as this would be equivalent to discussing the same matter in two tribunals.

SENATOR ROLLE in his final speech declared that the material which was added to the Ukrainian Club's motion, would be presented by him to Minister Skladkowski.

NINE VOTES WERE CAST FOR THE MOTION OF THE SENATOR WHO MADE THE REPORT AGAINST THREE, ONE REFRAINING FROM THE VOTE.

"Dilo", Lviv, January 30, 1931.

*(The contents of the two motions are significant. The motion of the pro-government group on the "pacification" states an opinion, the Ukrainian motion would order the government to investigate first the facts. The pro-government motion without inquiry whitewashes the government and blames the wholesale reprisals of the population upon the victims.*

*It is also significant that a certain number of Polish Opposition senators recognized the justice of the Ukrainian demand. It is still more significant that*



one of those to recognize this was Senator Glombinski, one of the leaders of the Polish National-Democrats of Galicia and one of the most persistent anti-Ukrainians.

His motives for keeping away from discussing the matter in the Polish Parliament is noteworthy. The Ukrainians knew that they could not expect to carry the Ukrainian motion, either in the Committee or in the House. The steam-roller of the pro-government majority will crush every Ukrainian motion, no matter how modest or how just. As the Parliament is the last ditch of the victims of the "pacification," the defeat of the Ukrainian motions is simply equal to depriving the victims of all the chances not only to have their damages remunerated, but even to have the facts investigated. The Polish Opposition knows that, too, and yet Mr. Glombinski would not vote for the motion to have the "pacification" investigated once the Ukrainians have brought the matter before the League of Nations. He disregards the fact that that new appeal was made necessary just because all the Polish "tribunals," the Polish administration in the strict sense, Polish courts, and the Polish Parliament, have rejected the Ukrainian motions to have the matter investigated. Hence Mr. Glombinski's motion has to be viewed as nothing else but a pressure brought about upon the Ukrainians to resign their rights of having their grievances heard at least in an international tribunal, if no tribunal at home cared to hear them. —Ed.)

(F)

#### THE "PACIFICATION" IN THE HOUSE OF THE SEJM

(a)

The debates of the Senate were followed yesterday at once by the debates of the Sejm. The order of the day embraced twenty questions which were headed by the important political question of the "pacification" of Eastern Little Poland. . . . In spite of the fact that there was collected about the pacification of Eastern Little Poland a mass of materials unknown in the history of the Polish Parliament, the Sejm discussed the matter very thoroughly and about the midnight passed over to the debates on the Brest affair. . . .

The matter was reported to the Sejm by DEPUTY ZDZISLAW STRONSKI, of the B.B., who remarked at the very outset that the Administration Committee could not take into consideration only the materials presented in the motion of the Ukrainian deputies, as this comprised only a portion of the events which had taken place in Eastern Little Poland. The Ukrainian motion, the speaker said, speaks only of the consequences, and omits by silence the causes which moved the Government to issue protective orders.



Because the Ukrainian deputies cannot be charged with not knowing or overlooking the facts, it is apparent that they were not interested in a full elucidation of the problem. Nor were they interested in the assurance of peace in those provinces, since everybody who knows the conditions of those provinces knows also that there exists at present peace and that the life of the Ukrainian population runs normally. We must therefore consider the motion of the Ukrainian deputies to be an act of the nature of a political demonstration.

The speaker argues for a long time to prove that it is not the Polish population who is at fault for the strained relations in Little Poland, but the leaders of the Ukrainian political organizations. The development of Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions attests best to the fact that there was no oppression of the Ukrainian people. Thanks to the assistance of some Polish parties the Ruthenians entered also the autonomous bodies of "Czerven provinces". The organization which goes against the peaceful co-habitation of the two races is the Ukrainian Military Organization, with the home-office in Berlin, which is diligently supported by certain Ukrainian groups. This organization is responsible for a whole series of murderous attempts against prominent public men, not only Polish, but also Ukrainian, who propagated the slogans of conciliation. In this organization converge also threads of great spy affairs. It started the campaign of sabotages and arsons, which had assumed gigantic proportions last summer. Here the speaker reads from a manuscript a tabulation of the arsons, attempts against railroads and telephones. These attempts were carried out systematically for two months. The Ukrainian political circles kept silent, the clergy also kept silent, and the "Dilo" even published an article in which it apotheosized the campaign of sabotages. The Polish people came close to starting a campaign of their own, but this was prevented. The Government started the pacification, with the following results: there were taken from the people 1,287 rifles, 292 shot-guns, 566 revolvers, 398 bayonets, 46 daggers, 47 sabres, 1,000 kg. of explosives; several wagons were used to cart the war materials.

At present, the speaker assures, there reigns peace in Little Poland, which is a proof that the pacification was effective. The speaker concludes by making a motion to reject the Ukrainian motion and to accept the motion of the Committee of the following contents:

"The Sejm recognizes that the orders of the Government in the three eastern provinces issued with the purpose of insuring for the entire population of these provinces a protection of life and property as well as of property of the gov-

ernmental institutions from the criminal acts which had taken place in the territory were motivated and necessary. All the material presented as motivation for the motion, is to be handed over to the Minister of the Interior."

During the debate that followed, Deputy Dr. BARAN, the representative of the Ukrainian Club, delivered a speech which lasted one hour and a half. He argued that the pacification did not embrace 16 districts, but a territory much larger, or about 50,000 square kilometers. According to the speaker, the initiator of the pacification was Mr. Nakoniecznikow, the voyvoda of Lviv province. The speaker described the method in which the pacification was carried out in Ukrainian villages and quotes a long series of alleged facts of flogging, maltreatment, destruction of cultural institutions, forcing the people to sing songs slandering Ukraine. He expresses the opinion that if the pacification had been stopped at the very outset the events would have taken a different turn. All these data were brought to the knowledge of administrative authorities, local as well as central, at Warsaw, but the authorities refused to start any investigation, and the Ukrainian delegations were refused admission by the Premier of the Polish Cabinet of Ministers, and by Minister (of the Interior) Skladkowski. Nor did the intervention of the Metropolitan bring any results.

The speakers requests the Sejm to accept the motion of the Ukrainian Club, which strives to ascertain the facts.

With a great temperament spoke Deputy DUBOIS, of the Polish Socialist Party, whose arguments provoked frequently protests from the benches of the members of the B.B. Club. The speaker charged the pro-government majority with treating the matter with absolute cynicism. In the name of the Polish Socialist Club he declares himself in favor of the Ukrainian motion, emphasizing this to be in the interest of Poland accused before the rest of the world. The deputy of the pro-government group, who reported the matter to the Sejm, is guilty of one-sided presentation of the matter. He condemns the excesses and calls attention to the fact that we have witnessed a quite original administration of justice. If the Government is in possession of the proofs of the guilt on the side of certain persons, they should be punished, but the principle of collective responsibility should not be applied to them, without inquiry and trial. The representative of the majority argued in favor of the pacification by pointing out that the government had no other way out. If the powerful Dictatorship government had no other methods to punish the guilty ones in a normal way, then it is weak and should resign. The speaker reminds Deputy Holowko his own old stand according

to which racial problems cannot be solved by police methods. Though the speaker attacks the ideology of the (Polish) National Democrats, still, he declares, in the period of the National Democratic Administration the conditions were much better: there reigned, to be sure, nationalism, but the law was in power.

I am interested in the Brest affair, the speaker declares, primarily in the question, Did they flog or not? That is the question I asked in the Brest affair. And this is the question I direct at Minister Skladkowski, Were tortures applied in the pacification? And I will ask this question so long until the whole history of the pacification will be revealed. (Applause of the Opposition.)

DEPUTY ROG, of the Parliamentary Club of Peasant Deputies, stands on the principle of wholeness and unity of the State as well as peaceful co-existence and cooperation of all the races. He recognizes the equal rights of all the citizens and their activity guaranteed by the Polish constitution and contained in the above principle. His Club understands that the State cannot tolerate activities that tend to threaten the interests of the State, but the actual culprits should be the only ones called to responsibility. The Club cannot recognize as proper to call whole communes or whole social groups or whole races to answer collectively for the crimes committed by individuals belonging to the groups. At any rate the Club condemns the application of mass reprisals by police and soldiers. Nor can it approve of the excesses of the individual organs of the police or the army. Therefore, without passing a premature judgment of the reports about the facts, given by the Ukrainian Club, his Club will vote for the motion which has for its purpose the investigation of the affair and the punishment of the organs which have been guilty of punishable excesses towards innocent people.

Then the floor was taken by GENERAL SKLADKOWSKI, the Minister of the Interior.\* He declared in the name of the

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\* (*The post of the Minister of the Interior is not the only one in the Polish cabinet to be occupied by a soldier. On December 7, 1930, the press in Poland reported the new cabinet of ministers usually under the following caption: "THE NEW POLISH CABINET: 1 MARSHAL, 3 GENERALS, AND 5 COLONELS." Indeed, they said, only 5 persons, out of the 14 members of the cabinet, were "civilians."*)

*The press interpreted this as a "radicalization of the program of strong hand."—Ed.)*

Government that the entire pacification had its causes, its course and its consequences. The causes of it were sabotages, which lasted more than two months, which the Government tried to prevent by local methods, but could not in view of their tremendous spread and in view of the fact that they were supported by the activity of the staff of the Ukrainian Military Organization.

Those activities were supported from abroad. The gentlemen from the Opposition who combat the nationalism at the same time support the nationalism of the Ukrainians, sneer at the impotence of the Government to put an end to the sabotages, but a strong Government faced here a strongly subsidized movement. And the strong Government had to choose between proclaiming the martial law, which would have resulted in shooting down people, and attempting to use the police school of Mosty Wielkie. The Government chose the latter method as one that is a humanitarian one.

An interruption, "And what about the photographs?"

The Minister, Photographs are being manufactured by whoever only wants to do it. (Applause by the B.B.) I do not want to state that all the photographs are gorges. I state that the orders of the Government had for their purpose to remove, by means of mass expeditions of police and soldiers, the terror from the people who dared not to report to the Government of any acts of sabotage because the terrorists were so strong that for several weeks it was they who ruled and not the Government. Those terrorists were strong and well provided with money from abroad and strong methods were needed. Judicial investigations are in progress. I state firmly that the Government takes the stand of equal rights for all the citizens without regard to their religion and race. (Applauses of the B.B. Deputy Zahaykevych, "Only in theory.") Standing on the principle of equality, we also stand on the principle of equal responsibility. Because the acts were committed by the Ukrainians, should not be the reason why we should let them pass unpunished. If the Poles had done this, the Government would have to use equally radical measures. Sabotages had for their purpose to bring discord among the peaceful Ukrainian people, towards whom the Government takes the stand of benevolence, punishing only those who incite those people. The Government is obliged to assure peace and safety to all citizens. I state firmly that the peace in Little Poland and the harmonious cooperation aren't yet ideal, but it is better than what it was before the pacification. Those who committed sabotages, were just concerned about causing quarrels between the Ukrain-



ians and the Poles. They attained consequences which are fatal to them. The Ukrainian people have realized who incites them to struggle and now they believe that the Polish Government wishes to protect the people.

The Minister reads documents referring to the activities of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, namely the instructions to all the branches of the organization abroad to send to the League of Nations and to the governments of other nations telegrams about the events in the country, to arrange parades before Polish consulates and to demand sending an international commission of inquiry into Galicia.

In several cases there were committed governmental excesses and I punished those guilty ones. (An interruption: Whom?) A policeman who stole a golden watch was dismissed by me from service. Especially in those cases which aimed at humiliation of a racial sentiment, the guilty ones will be punished severely.

DEPUTY RYMAR, of the National Club, says that there is in this House not even one Pole who would not condemn in most severe terms all the activities of the Ukrainian sabotagists and anti-Polish propaganda. The destruction of the secret Ukrainian organizations belong among the most elementary duties of every administration, but if we speak today so much of the pacification it is only because the Government should have done this sooner. The administration was warned already many a time against flirting with elements which stand near those who now committed sabotages. Deputies St. Stronski and Wierczak, after the known acts of sabotage in November, 1928, in Lviv, called upon the administration to proceed severely and to punish the guilty ones. If the administration had then followed our advices, it would not today have to go so far. All the methods which were applied in September are fully approved. But today we speak of the excesses of the civilian and military authorities on that occasion. To the motion of the majority of the Administrative Committee we have a clear answer: we accept to our knowledge these orders of the Government which are in agreement with the law, and reject those that are not in agreement. (Tumult on the benches of the B.B.) The emotion blends matters just and unjust, and that is why our Club will not vote for it.

The Ukrainian deputies gave concrete facts of flogging, maltreatment, destruction, but neither the deputy who brought in the report, nor the representatives of the Government touched upon the subject. The deputy who made the report limited himself to quoting the speech of the Minister delivered in the Budget Com-

mittee to the effect that he would punish the guilty ones. According to our opinion, the words of the Minister uttered four months after the pacification had taken place, say unusually little. Such a method of the administration and its majority will have such consequences, that Mr. Zaleski, the Minister of the Foreign Affairs, will again have to offer excuses and apologies in Geneva. (Tumult.) Each of us must have read with a sense of shame the text of the Minister's reply to the complaint of the Volksbund.

We had the intention to support the second part of the Ukrainian motion which demands an investigation and punishment, but this was made impossible by the step of woman-deputy Rudnicki, who has sent her memorandum to the Secretary of the League of Nations.

Interruption, "Here you see!"

It is you who brought this about, by your demands that this body should take up the matter. As soon as the Ukrainian Club selected for themselves another tribunal, they cannot count upon us to raise our voice in this matter. For this reason I will refrain from voting, this, however, does not free me from my duty of calling the Government's attention to the fact that every action of the Government must be within the law, and the use of military detachments is useful neither for the Polish army nor for the Polish State. (Applause on the Right, tumult among the members of the B.B. and calls, "Shame!")

#### VOTE

After the closing speech by Deputy ZDZISLAW STRONSKI, of the B.B., who had made the report, the vote was taken, at which the majority of the House rejected the Ukrainian motion.

"Kurjer Warszawski", Warsaw, in Polish, January 27, 1931.

*(The Polish censor deleted practically every word of the summary of Deputy Baran's speech in the House of Sejm, when it was published by the "Dilo," the Ukrainian daily of Lviv.—Ed.)*

(b)

*(From our own Correspondent.)*

The debate on the horrors of Brest-Litovsk and on the atrocities in the Ukraine began in the Polish Sejm last night, and went on until five this morning. It is noteworthy that the motion for an inquiry into the Brest-Litovsk affair and the punishment of the guilty was brought forward by the National Democrats —

that is to say, by the Rightwing Opposition. The National Democrats, who have been looked upon as the worst fire-eaters and reactionaries in Poland, have shown far more liberalism and humanity than the Government bloc. They have denounced the horrors of Brest-Litovsk, and, in spite of their great hostility to the National minorities, they have never stood for anything comparable with the pacification of Eastern Galicia carried out under the present Dictatorship. It need hardly be said that the motion was defeated, for the Sejm is now a packed jury, packed with the Government's supporters as a result of the November elections.

It is also noteworthy that a member of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist party), M. Dubois, spoke on behalf of the motion brought forward by the Ukrainian deputies. M. Dubois was one of the prisoners in Brest-Litovsk, but his spirit is unbroken. Even so ruthless and so formidable a character as Korfanty was broken by what he went through in that prison — only those who knew this old and hardened fighter will appreciate what the breaking of the spirit means. The spirit of Liebermann, it seems, is also broken, although he is a man of heroic mould, keen, intelligent, and of great resolution (he was, it will be remembered, beaten until he lost consciousness, and then went through a nightmare of terror and ill-treatment in prison, so that when, after many weeks in prison, he was released his own friends hardly recognised him).

*M. Dubois and the Ukraine.*

M. Dubois's brave championship of the Ukrainians is all the more memorable not only because, having been in Brest-Litovsk himself, he knows what he will have to go through if he returns there, but also because it has not been very common for members of his party to fight oppression when directed against others than themselves. At least one member of his party, who has officially or unofficially acted as intermediary between the P. P. S. and the British Labour party, has helped the Polish Dictatorship by denouncing those who have exposed its oppressive measures (especially when directed against the minorities) as pro-Germans in London and elsewhere.

But M. Dubois had suffered too much at the hands of the Dictatorship to be its friend, and in his speech before the Sejm he severely attacked its methods. "If Poland is to be called a civilised State," he said, referring to the wholesale flogging of

Ukrainian peasants, "then it cannot tolerate collective punishment for the deeds of individual persons." He also declared that his party was in favour of Ukrainian Home Rule (which, incidentally, is 'on the Polish Statute-book already in a law that is left inoperative year in year out).

*Minister's Defence.*

The minister of the Interior, Mr. Skladkowsky, declared that the data relating to the atrocities in the Ukraine were forged, but admitted that there had been some excesses. He said that the guilty had been punished. When asked who had been punished he was unable to give any instances. The motion put forward by the Ukrainian deputies was, of course, defeated.

It is noteworthy that the thesis so often put forward by Polish propagandists — namely, that the Ukrainians were instigated to rebellion by Germany or Russia or both — not only remains untrue but remains unsupported by even the most shadowy evidence, although the debate in the Sejm would have been an opportunity to bring such evidence forward, if it existed. The Ukrainian leader, Dr. Lewitsky, is in prison, and one of the charges against him apparently is that he connived treasonably with certain persons in Berlin. Documents purporting to disclose this connivance have been shown to several persons in London, but, so it would seem, only to such persons as either through partisanship or innocence in such tricky affairs are unwilling or unable to estimate the true value of these documents. It would be instructive to know what the documents are and what is in them, and whether they are anything more than a kind of propaganda calculated to impress the ignorant and the biased. In any case, the forthcoming trial of Dr. Lewitsky will be worthy of close attention.

A number of Ukrainians have also been tried at Lvoff for acts of "sabotage" committed last year. It does not seem that at these trials any evidence of connivance with foreign Powers came to light; but unless some such evidence is produced, then the Polish claim that Germany or Russia or both are behind the Ukrainian movement must be looked upon as altogether baseless.

*(The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, January 28, 1931).*



(G)

THE QUESTION OF "PACIFICATION" IN THE SENATE  
OF THE POLISH PARLIAMENT

(a)

The debates of the Senate of the Polish Parliament yesterday (February 3, 1931) lasted from 4 till 11 o'clock in the evening . . . long lively debate which lasted several hours was called forth by the report of the committee on the Ukrainian motion in the matter of the so-called pacification of Eastern Little Poland. What was to be the fate of this motion, which called upon the government to conduct an investigation, to punish the guilty persons and pay damages, was known beforehand. The pro-government majority has rejected it already in the House of the Sejm, and in the Senate committee the representatives of the B.B. also declared themselves for its rejection. Hence during the discussion, the clubs merely demonstratively stated their respective stands. Against the report of the committee which demanded the rejection of the Ukrainian motion, there declared themselves, besides the Ukrainians, the representatives of the Club of the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Peasant Club. The Senators of the National Club refrained from voting. During the discussion spoke Mr. Skladkowski, Minister of the Interior.

The matter was reported to the Senate by Senator ROLLE, of the B.B., who argued that the government's pacification was a necessity, called forth by Ukrainian sabotages. The Ukrainian, as well as foreign versions of the course of the pacification were, in the opinion of the senator, grossly exaggerated. To be sure, in a campaign so wide, in which upwards of 1800 persons were detained, there could occur certain excesses and unnecessary steps of the governmental organs, and perhaps detrimental to the government. The minister of the Interior had declared that he has ordered inquiry and the punishment of those guilty ones. The senator shares his opinion that there was in those excesses no system. There were also victims among the police and the soldiers, even accidents of death.

Then the senator characterized the sabotage activities of the Ukrainians, which, he charged, was supported by elements from abroad.

The motion of the majority of the Committee considers the pacification to be expedient and necessary and takes into account the Minister's assurance that an investigation was started by the

government and the Minister's assurance that the perpetrators of the criminal acts would be punished and that damages would be paid. On the other hand, the Committee makes the motion that the motion of the Ukrainian Club be rejected because it assumes beforehand that excesses were committed. In view of this the senator who makes the report gives the notice of his motion that the senate recognize that the methods of pacification were justified, and that the entire material presented in the form of the motivation of the Ukrainian motion be handed over to the Minister of the Interior.

During the debate that followed senator MAKUKH argued that only six arsons in the Eastern Little Poland had been attributable to the sabotages. According to the speaker's opinion, the Ukrainians had no political motive to start such a campaign, which would turn the attention of the Polish public from the struggle for democracy and the government by law. The speaker's opinion is that the purpose of the pacification was to destroy the property of the Ukrainians, to terrorize active individuals, and beside to prepare for the election.

Minister Skladkowski interrupts, "Pacification" had also peace for its purpose.

Senator Makukh further states that the so-called collective responsibility and collective punishment have been applied, and that soldiers were used contrary to the provisions of the law.

Then followed the speech by woman—senator KLUSZYNSKA, of the Polish Socialist Party, who said among other things that for a series of weeks one hears in the Houses of the Parliament nothing else but they are beating. They are beating in the east, they are beating in the west, they are beating in the center. Wherever the government turns, it is always with a stick in hand. Is this necessary? Nobody says that sabotages should go unpunished, but saboteurs should be caught and delivered to the courts. Not only the Ukrainians were whipped, but on the way to them also the Poles. P. Winiarski, a Pole, writes her that he received 400 blows, 100 in each installment.

SENATOR EVERT: And could he stand all this?

SEN. KLUSZYNSKA: Let the senator only ask what the people stood in the prisons of the Cheka. The people are able to stand a great deal. It is too bad that they have to stand all this they are forced to stand in the prisons of the Cheka.

THE MARSHAL (SPEAKER) OF THE SENATE: Will you stop making such comparisons.

SENATOR KLUSZYNSKA: "Isn't one allowed to make comparisons?"

THE MARSHAL: "There are certain comparisons."

SENATOR KLUSZYNSKA: "Which are essential."

THE MARSHAL: "The woman-senator knows well the Polish language and is in no need of using such words."

SENATOR KLUSZYNSKA: "Thank you for this compliment."

THE MARSHAL: "Please do not enter into discussion with the Marshal."

SENATOR KLUSZYNSKA: "With you everything is measured by the conception of the 'strong government.' A strong government does not necessarily mean a strong State. What is that force in Poland which drives the State on that road? This is not the road to Poland's taking the position of a great power, this is not the road to the solution of the Ukrainian-Polish problem."

SENATOR HORBACHEVSKY, of the Ukrainian Club, appealed to the Senate to vote in favor of the Ukrainian motion.

SENATOR GLOMBINSKI, of the (Polish) National Club, argued that all the citizens of the State are bound by loyalty towards the Republic. After the acts of sabotage had been planned, attempted and carried out, some strong action was necessary. The lenient policy of the government towards the hostile declarations and acts of certain organizations, aroused the younger element to such a degree that they began to burn, which was to be the opening of a greater campaign, in connection with the plans of Poland's neighbors. The moderate Ukrainian factions found no condemnation of those acts, at least not until it was already too late, when the pacification has already begun.

In spite of this the Senator's club would see no obstacle to demand an inquiry of the matter and possible punishment of the guilty ones, without prejudicating the question of the veracity of the charges. We stand for the government by law and ethics. In spite of this the National Club will not vote for the Ukrainian motion since the representatives of the Ruthenian race have already entered upon the road which collides with the duty of every citizen who may not go abroad and file information against his own State before the League of Nations, especially before he has appealed in the matter to the Sejm and Senate of his own Parliament. Because our vote in this matter could be misinterpreted the Club will refrain from the vote.

Then followed the speech by SKLADKOWSKI, the Minister of the Interior. He stated that to the very pacification not one Ukrainian deputy has recognized Poland's frontiers. Not so long ago nobody could force them to use in the Sejm the term Little Poland, or even Eastern Galicia. They always spoke of Western Ukraine. I warn that it is not we who dig chasms but you, by your policy. If the Polish government desired to destroy the Ukrainian people, it had sufficient basis for that before the world to order martial law, to proclaim the state of war, and then hundreds of people, and not a miserable eleven, would go down before the machine guns. The government used a completely moderate method in order to prevent a clash between two races, as this was planned by those who had planned the sabotages.

The gentlemen repeat forever the fact about the errant bayonet, which is supposed to have been planted by the police. I do not know of this fact but it is evidently the only fact when you continually use it and when you generalize it. There appeared in a Ukrainian paper an obituary of a priest who, God be thanked, is still alive; if I cared to generalize such fact then I would say that nobody was killed as there was an obituary of a priest and the priest is alive.

SENATOR MAKUKH, He was so badly beaten that all believed he was dead.

MINISTER SKLADKOWSKI: "But does the editor believe this who wrote this? It was believed only by those who read it, and it was calculated to beguile them.

I confirm categorically that the Polish government had no intention of destroying the Ukrainian people, but destroys only those who cause sabotages and disorders. Those people evidently have been caught if there is order. This is clear and simple, the government will continue to seek by the most lenient means to bring about a peaceful co-existence of the two races, even if some politicians would care otherwise." (Applause on the benches of the B.B.)

SENATOR WOZNICKI, of the (Polish) Peasant Club. "In the name of the senators of the peasantry I declare that whenever a charge will be made against the authorities of the acts such as mentioned in the Ukrainian motion, the Club will always vote in favor of an investigation of the affair and in favor of punishing those truly responsible for the criminal acts actually perpetrated. In our opinion, the persons guilty of acts directed against the society or against the State, should be visited by well deserved



punishments, but we recognize no collective responsibility. As we see in the motion of the committee's majority no settlement of this painful affair, we shall vote against the motion of the Judiciary Committee.

SENATOR ROLLE, of the B.B., spoke again as the member who had made the report. After his speech the motion of the pro-government majority, accepted by the committee, was accepted by the House; thus the motion of the Ukrainian Club was rejected.

"Kurjer Warszawski," Warsaw, in Polish, February 4, 1931.

(b)

DORA KLUSZYNSKA, POLISH WOMAN-SENATOR, ON THE  
"PACIFICATION"

HER SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE  
POLISH PARLIAMENT, ON FEBRUARY 3, 1931

To speak on the pacification is no easy matter. For every man possessed of any kind of humane feeling this is a topic exceedingly distressing and painful. I am deeply convinced that should even all those facts adduced here by the senator who gave the report on the matter were true, still the pacification was not necessary in the form in which it was carried out.

The Ukrainian-Polish conflict did not start yesterday. This is a conflict of historic duration which has lasted for centuries. Gentlemen, there are no politics without an economic substratum. The great landlords in the borderlands are the Poles, and the Ukrainian peasant is that petty owner, cottager, who suffers misery.

This is one of the causes of the conditions of the Polish society.

For more than a hundred years, the nations, which had dismembered Poland, had never had any interest in constructing a bridge between the Polish and the Ukrainian people over which the two races could approach each other. Those hostile forces did everything in their power to separate the two races inhabiting the same territory. The problem of far reaching national importance cannot be looked upon from a narrow courtyard of this or that administration, as these are matters requiring a wider perspective, since these are matters that do not end with us but will continue to exist long after us, with such consequences that those who will follow us will reap the fruits of what we are sowing at present.

Every race has the right to be independent. What was the relation to this principle on the part of that man who is for us, at least for the majority of this House, alpha and omega. Here I have the appeal of the Supreme Commandant (of the Polish armies) with which he marched into Ukraine, to Kiev. What did the Supreme Commandant say to the Ukrainian people?

"I am bringing you independence and I am bringing you deliverance on the swords, on the sabres of the Polish soldier. It is for this freedom that the Polish soldier shed his blood."

Why, these are historic documents, which can be crossed out by nobody, as they exist and testify.

These historic documents confirm that the Ukrainian people were spoken to about independence in their entity. There even exists a declaration of the Polish Parliament which represents the matter in that manner.

In the Constitutional Parliament of 1922, the autonomy of Eastern provinces was spoken of. Socialists demanded autonomy for all the eastern provinces (as a whole). This conception was not supported. Another conception was accepted, according to which each of the provinces was to enjoy autonomy of its own. But was that law on autonomy, passed by the Constitutional Parliament, carried out? Were there any efforts to approach the Ukrainian people? No, nothing was done on the part of Poland that should have been done. NOTHING WAS DONE BY THE FACTOR THAT HAS THE POWER TOWARDS THE FACTOR THAT HAS NO POWER.\* I have the deepest conviction that among you, gentlemen, there are many who have the sense for the perspective, and who think that the road from the "Federation" to "pacification" is not the road which the Polish Nation should have traveled.

When we proclaim that the existence of the Polish Nation is based upon treaties, then there is in Poland not even one Pole who would proclaim that the frontiers of the Polish Nation are violable. This is the essence of the treaties. But Poland has also some obligations arising out of these treaties, towards the citizens

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\* The words are underscored by me as they are a direct testimony on the question of fact on which the correspondent of the London Times passed an opinion without giving us the data on which that opinion is based. This is a testimony of a prominent Polish politician. Outside of her testimony as to the fact of non-existence of any conciliatory efforts on the part of the Polish government, she seems to be of the opinion that the Polish government occupies towards the citizens of its own State, in all the conciliatory efforts, a commanding position. Let the reader decide for himself: Which side may begin conciliatory efforts more easily, that is without fear for its own existence?—Ed.

who live within the Polish Nation and are not of the Polish race. That is why when we demand that the entire world respect, and be bound by, the treaties towards us, we should also proclaim that those treaties bind also the Polish Nation as to its relation towards its citizens.\*

And for this reason it is a bad policy that gives the enemy those very weapons which we consider deadly to the interests of the Polish Nation. The racial minorities have the right in Poland to demand all those rights which are theirs.

We have a neighbor, Czechoslovakia, in which there are six or seven racial minorities. There is there a government in which there are Germans and Slovaks and the representatives of racial minorities. They sit there together and cooperate for the Nation.\*\*

In Poland instead there is a Dictatorship, and a Dictatorship is an antithesis of legality. That is why all the things are possible in Poland. It seems that even those members of the Parliament, Sejm and Senate, who are most humorously inclined, will admit that if for a series of weeks in both Houses of the Polish Parliament we hear nothing else but of floggings, if we hear continuous talk: they flog in the west, they flog in the east, they flog in the center, then isn't this terrible?

Minister Skladkowski interrupts: Children!

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\* Here is again a point on which the speaker would clash with the Polish Dictatorship and its apologists abroad. The Warsaw correspondent of the Times expresses exactly that opinion: the Ukrainians who had been occupied by Poland are bound to be loyal to the Polish Nation, whose frontier is inviolable because they are guaranteed by international treaties, but the Polish Nation is not bound by those treaties to carry out in practice those obligations which she had undertaken upon herself in these treaties. Even if this were still an open question is it too much to expect from great newspapers at least a fair statement of the fact that a certain group of the Polish political thought favors the recognition of the principle that an international obligation binds both sides, that if a treaty is to stand and bring benefits to one side, it should stand also and bring benefits to the other side?—Ed.

\*\* This is a reply to the Polish propaganda that tries to create an impression abroad that the Ukrainians are treated fairly by the Polish government. A wide publicity was given in America to the statements of the Polish ambassador and Polish consuls in the United States according to which the Ukrainians participate widely in various branches of the Polish government. The Warsaw correspondent of the Times stated that the Ukrainian revolutionary group tries to scare the Ukrainians away from taking governmental positions. Here a Polish politician makes a statement before the Polish Parliament, and she was not challenged for it, that no Ukrainians were admitted into the Polish government.—Ed.

Senator Dora Kluszynska: If Lord Minister thinks that Poland's citizens are children, and you consider yourself their father, then wouldn't you ask them, do those children want to have you for their father?

Wherever a governmental organ turns, it is always with a stick in his hand. Is this necessary?

Nobody says that sabotages should go unpunished. If there was a conspiracy, if the property of citizens was set on fire, then the guilty persons should be punished severely, the saboteurs should be discovered and handed over to the courts.

The senator who gave us the report, asked, what is better: an executioner or "pacification"?

Personally I oppose capital punishment. However, if the executioner comes, he comes after a verdict, but never before a verdict. And here came pacification before a verdict. There were no investigations, there came pacification and issued verdicts upon a wide area, comprising hundreds upon hundreds of kilometers.

There were flogged not only Ukrainians. As is well known, where logs are cut, chips fly about. Poles, too, were flogged, by the way. I have here the name of a Polish citizen,—Winiarski is his name,—he wrote to his family in Western Poland. I do not utter a word for the Ukrainians, I do not have to speak in their defense, they can defend themselves. But this is a Pole. I have a document here signed by the man's full name, in which he says: I received 400 blows with sticks, 100 in each instalment. Four executioners, he writes, took part in that punishment, and when I yelled and swore that I am a Pole, they said, "Who says that thou art a Pole?"

The government wants to show that it is strong. But this strength consists in flogging people.

Well, gentlemen, a strong government does not necessarily mean a strong nation. French governments are such that today they exist, and tomorrow they are no more, another government coming in the place. But I would be happy, indeed, if Poland were as strong as France, with all those changing administrations of hers.

If Mr. Zaleski (the Polish Minister of the Foreign Affairs,—Ed.) tried to defend himself in Geneva,—and Poland is continually a litigant in Geneva,—by means of the declarations of our Lords Ministers, believe me, gentlemen, that he would lose all along the line. There he could not use the arguments which are used here with such a force before the Polish public. There he would have to fold himself like a jackknife, to bow to the right and to the



left, saying, "This wasn't so black, it was otherwise." How it was the Lord Minister will probably tell us there in the Committee on the Foreign Affairs, but he will tell us only half of the truth. (Interruptions.)

Only exceedingly short-sighted persons could imagine that one may govern by violence. To govern by violence in the long run is impossible. Especially a Nation of thirty millions of mixed population cannot stand a government of violence!

That is why I address you at this period of the proceedings: the road of pacification, I am deeply convinced, is detrimental to the Polish Nation. Any thought of revenge is foreign to me completely. This is a sentiment which in consequences must bring the man to moral downfall. That is why I do not speak of revenge, and not threaten anybody.

Whenever one talks to one of the gentlemen privately and asks him what arguments he has (in favor of the pacification), he answers: Marshal Pilsudski's ideology. This is an easy way out. But this is not the way upon which one could solve such a great problem as the conflict between the Polish and the Ukrainian people. This is a problem which requires completely different methods. Shall we reach a reconciliation with that race through collective responsibility? Collective responsibility does not exist any more in the law. Such a thing is no more permissible that the government should be allowed to drive together 40 or 50 citizens, and without an investigation start whipping everybody in order to set an example.

It seems to me that a considerable part of our people live today in some kind of psychosis. If there rose before you, gentlemen, Skarga, or if six Reytans were to lie down on this threshold, saying, "Turn back: your road is bad!" some of you would drop your eyes, others would merely smile.\* That smile is also one of

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\* *Piotr Skarga, 1532-1612, a Polish Jesuit, a court preacher of Polish king Sigismund III, known in Poland's history for his preachings against social and political evils, which in his mind were undermining the power of the Polish State.*

*Tadeusz Reytan, a Polish patriot, made himself famous by his uncompromising opposition to the Russophile party at the Polish Sejm of 1773, convoked by the Russophile party for the purpose of ratification of the first partition of Poland. When the leader of the Russophile party, acting as elected Speaker ("Marshal") of the Sejm, attained his purpose and dissolved the Sejm, Reytan tried to prevent the deputies from dispersing by lying*

the methods which the camp in saddle applies. Here a senator relates: they whipped, they thrashed, they destroyed property, and others sit in the House and laugh. Even if all this were not true,—if a man out of his deepest conviction, a man of a wronged people, tells you this, then most elementary decency should tell you not to laugh at such a moment, but to think that some kind of a wrong must have happened to these people, and a great wrong at that, since their cultural achievements were destroyed, and his very belief in the law, his faith in the legality, which is both the greatest loss of those people and a tremendous loss of the (Polish) Nation.

These are matters which will find distressing and painful echoes outside of the Polish frontiers, which will place Poland in such a position that she will have to go and apologize and excuse herself why such things are happening in Poland. Gentlemen, there is in the government at the present moment no factor which would like and which could turn away from this road. What has to happen, will happen within Poland, but Poland will again be a litigant in Geneva in the matter of pacification. My standpoint is that the weighty mistakes committed by the government of the May coup d'etat will have painful consequences.

Can Poland allow herself the luxury of a declaration that she does not care for the rest of the world? Can Poland afford to take the stand that she cares nothing for what they say about her? For this reason the Polish government of the period of pacification is responsible for the pacification in Little Poland. Responsible are those people who conducted that government. May we never come to repent their deeds!

I am under the impression that matters of this kind do not pass by without leaving traces, as the gentlemen of the government camp aver, that the affair will weigh heavily upon Poland's fate. I state that the pacification was unnecessary and unfounded.

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*bodily on the threshold of the hall. The majority of the deputies, however, left the hall, walking over his body. Reytan left it 38 hours later realizing the inexpediency of further opposition. Seven years later he died of his own hand.*

*The Russophile party was supported by the Tsarist Government, with money and soldiers. The party worked against the best interests of Poland. The Polish Government, in supporting such "Ukrainian" deputies, as Bachynsky, Peter Pevny, and the like, is following the same policy as that once adapted by Russian tsars, against which the Poles speak with deep moral indignation.*

That is why I think that the conception of the Senator who presented the report, and according to whom the measures of the pacification were necessary and well founded, is an unhappy interpretation of the whole problem. If you, gentlemen, have no strength to say, "We are guilty, we have committed errors!", then at least do not say that the measures were well founded, since they surely were not founded, at least in that form and in that extent in which they were practiced. And this is because the form itself in which the pacification was carried out is unheard-of sneer at all the conceptions of the government by the law and at all the conceptions of humanity.

(Applause on the benches of the Opposition.)

(The translation was made from the speech as published by the "Ameryka-Echo," the Polish weekly, Toledo, Ohio.—Ed.)

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The "pacification" debate<sup>\*</sup> of the Polish Parliament<sup>\*</sup> was awaited with great eagerness. Under some conditions it could have proved itself to be a frank and open discussion of the differences in the Polish-Ukrainian relations with an object of finding a certain mode of existence of the two races thrown together into one State.

The debate, however, cannot maintain such a claim. It was launched by the Ukrainian motion, but the conduct of the debate passed at once into the hands of the Parliamentary majority, the pro-government "non-partizan bloc." The government sandwiched the "pacification" between the layers of such highly tense and irritating subjects as the Brest affair, electoral frauds, and immunity of arrested deputies. The debate, consequently, was held in the tense atmosphere, heavy with charges, ugly details, bitter resentment and shame, on one hand, and arrogant resolution to show the strong hand, on the other.

With the Ukrainians sided a considerable portion of the Polish Opposition. This gave the Ukrainians a considerable support, but this, too, put the pro-government bloc into a still uglier mood. The majority were outraged to see their Polish colleagues side with those whom the government branded as something of traitors. The Opposition was to them like traitors of Poland. They could not listen to them quietly nor discuss their arguments with an even mind.

The government and the pro-government majority were resolved to rush the pacification in the Houses. With this object in view, they made the "pacification" one of a full score of points in the order of the day. As a result of this, the various questions connected with such a wide subject were not discussed but merely touched upon. The members of the pro-government group presented in short general, unspecified arguments which demanded long arguments; when the speaker of the Opposition entered into them the chairmen maintained that their time was up.



*For these reasons, the debate can hardly be considered a fair search for the solution of the problem. It is hardly anything more than a statement of the respective attitudes of the various sides. This is a valuable contribution in itself, but nothing more than that.*

*In a general way, those respective attitudes were juxtaposed schematically in the following way.*

*No matter what differences there were between the various groups of opposing the Polish government on this case, they were all united on certain principles. First of all, they proclaimed themselves to be agreed that every race has the right to self-determination. The Ukrainians usually quoted the precedent of the Polish independence, making out of this an argument in favor of Ukrainian independence. The Opposition knew that this argument would not be acceptable to the Poles, who would probably think that they are a higher race entitled to independence, while the Ukrainians are a lower race who cannot aspire to such lofty rights, and hence they quoted the words of the pro-government group in favor of the independence of the Ukrainians in particular. And in this respect they could quote the authority, highest authority for the pro-government group, Dictator Pilsudski himself, namely, his own proclamation to the Ukrainians during his march on Kiev. The Ukrainians understood that the principle of self determination of nationalities must mean the eventual realization of the natural tendency of the race to be united into one separate state, and the Poles probably would have to come to the same conclusion if they had to think of the problem, but they all agreed to speak not of the future, but of the current problem on hand, this being the question how two races, the Polish and the Ukrainian, who found themselves within one Nation, should live together. No matter what the eventual solution of the Ukrainian problem would be, these Ukrainian deputies and the Polish Opposition, started from the assumption that two races can live within one state, and work for the state, without one making the other give up its racial affiliation. Without renouncing their dreams of separate Statehood, the Ukrainians acted like practical politicians bent upon solving the immediate point at issue. They and the Opposition seemed also in agreement that if two races, or more, are to be made to cooperate within one state, for the state, this could happen only by one race respecting the equal rights of the other race. As these rights were guaranteed by various international treaties signed by Poland, Poland should carry out those treaties as a basis of the cooperation of the Ukrainians and the Poles within Poland.*

*The Polish Government and the pro-government group replied that they, too, stood on the principle of racial equality. We have always stood on the principle. We had the courage to pronounce it to the wide world. And we have practiced it, by treating the Ukrainians just as we would the Poles. Pacification? Exactly: we punished there the Ukrainian side for*



*what the Ukrainian side did, as we would have punished the Polish side if that side had done the same crimes as the Ukrainians have done. Isn't this equality?*

*And does the Polish Government mean to imply,—the Opposition retorted,—that all the Ukrainians are guilty of the acts of sabotage or of revolutionary acts towards the Polish Government? Are they all if not actual then potential revolutionists, who are uncompromisingly opposed to the presence of Poland in Ukraine, so that they are ready to fight against it by all their means possible?*

*This the Polish Government could not admit as it had proclaimed that the Ukrainian people are willing to have Poland there. So the Polish Government qualified its meaning of the "Ukrainian side." No; it said, the Ukrainians as a whole are very decent people, peaceful, and in their majority favorable to Poland. Why then the mass reprisals? Because there is among them a strong, active, aggressive group of disloyal, secessionist, revolutionary tendencies, which would like to put at once an end to the Polish rule, with armed force, and which terrorizes the "decent" Ukrainians, whom the Government prefers to call by the "decent" Austrian term of "Ruthenians." The "Ukrainians", then, would be clearly only those who are opposed to the Polish State and Government, and are traitors of Poland, and should be treated as such.*

*Yes, the Government has the right, the Opposition conceded,—to punish revolutionists, sabotagists, and traitors, but they cannot be punished en masse if they have not proved to be guilty individually. This is no equality to punish all the "Ukrainians" for what the "Ukrainians" have done. Such procedure is no equality, as it punishes the innocent on equal footing with the guilty ones, and often may punish the innocent and let the guilty ones escape scot-free. This is no justice. If the Polish Government applied such a rule to the Poles, this would not make the rule just; it would merely add to the wronged Ukrainians also wronged Poles. And the government, the Ukrainians pointed out, does not intend to apply the rule to the Polish side; the Polish government does not apply to the Polish "pogroms" against the Ukrainians, even the principle of individual responsibility, nothing of the mass responsibility, which is applied to the Ukrainian side. The mass reprisals against the "Ukrainian side" by the Government were clearly an illegal act, for which those who were responsible for it should be called to answer. If the Government has proofs of the guilt of the Ukrainian organizations, cultural, economic and sporting, that were victimized, of the guilt of the individuals who were flogged, the Government should have put them on trial, tried them in accordance to the law, and sentenced them.*

*The Minister of the Interior, a General by profession, sneers at the argument of legality. A legal procedure the gentlemen desire? Well, he*

could have done the 'pacification' in a legal way. The Government could just as easily proclaimed the martial law, start courts-martial, and then sent out machine-gun detachments and mow down not "eleven miserable persons," of which the Opposition whines so much, but hundreds and hundreds! Would they prefer executioner to "pacification?" Yes, the Opposition, even if they were opposed to capital punishment as a matter of principle, still preferred the "executioner" to "pacification": before an executioner arrives, there is a trial, charges, countercharges, defense; before all this an investigation; before the sentence is passed, facts must be ascertained; and even afterwards, in case of a judicial murder, a rehabilitation might be possible,—whereas all this is lost in the "administrative proceeding" of punishing the people without investigation, without charges, without defense, without verdict.

The Government does not argue any more the question of legality of the "pacification". It passes it in silence. It takes one stand which seems to it impregnable: expediency. If the question of illegality is mentioned, the Government seems to say, "Illegal, you say? What of it? But it works! Don't you believe it? Observe the peace! Aren't the Ukrainian people peaceful now? You don't answer? Of course. So you see!

The Ukrainians and the Polish Opposition have to give up the question of legality and to discuss the question of expediency. It is an easy way out to say "peace". But what is that peace? There is a peace on a cemetery. Is such a peace the object of the Polish government? If there is anything glorious in peace of the people for the government, it must be a peace of contentment. That is the worthy object of the government to strive for. Well, has the Polish Government done anything towards such achievement? The government, however, is not interested in beauty or justice, but in power. The "decent" Ukrainians, the "Ruthenians," do not dare to oppose the Government. The Government is strong, the Nation is strong. No, the Opposition reply, this is not power. This is merely a rude gesture of one anxious to parade his power, an arrogant assumption of one who has power but does not know how to use it, or has not as much power and wishes to show more than he has, an act of a bully. The people may be cowed momentarily into "peace" by such an attitude of the Polish Government, but will they persist in such a peace forever? Will they forever tolerate such assumptions on the part of the Government? Will they be cowed forever? Haven't there been already governments which expected such things? And haven't they fallen down when those who were supposed to be definitely cowed proved themselves to be cowed only momentarily? What would be the outcome of such a policy, but a downfall of the new Poland?

Thus what seems to be power is nothing of the kind. It is merely an appearance of power, a delusion, which fails one at the critical moment.

Thus the policy of legality, of the respect of the law, equality, self-determination of races, are all closely interrelated with each other, and then

*all together connected with the future of Poland, its power, positive, constructive, which makes the nations rise and live.*

*The Government argued as if the Government's pretensions of power could make Poland strong. Poland has powerful friends among the Powers. She has the guarantees of her frontiers. They are bound to respect them, to force the Ukrainians to respect them.*

*Yes, the Opposition argues, but by those treaties Poland is bound to respect the Ukrainian race, their culture, free development, language. Poland has promised that in international treaties. Poland cannot just demand rights out of those treaties, and neglect her duties. Her own friends would not advise such an action. Nor could she renounce the treaty, as where would then be the guarantee of her frontiers?*

*Here the point is reached at which the Government was able to split the forces of the Polish Opposition. No matter what the merits of the Ukrainian problem, still it is a question of Poland's internal politics. Other powers should have no right to intervene between the Poles and the Ukrainians. This is a Polish question, an internal question, not an international question. If the Ukrainians want to treat it as an international question, then they and their motion should be thrown out of the Polish Parliament. Let them go to Geneva. Let them see what they can get there!*

*The Polish Nationalists of the National Democratic group, one of the most chauvinistic Polish parties, took this argument and deserted the Ukrainians on this ground.*

*In their efforts to expose the Government's construction of the "Ukrainian side" as meaning the Ukrainian revolutionists, the Ukrainian deputies pointed out the Ukrainian charge that a certain amount of the arsons, in summer 1930, must be attributed to the Poles speculating on fire insurance. Minister Skladkowski generalized this, by saying that the Ukrainians tried to give the impression abroad that all the acts of arson were due to Polish speculation. He construed such a propaganda as an effort to obscure the matter. He counteracted it by a charge that all the acts of arson are attributable to the "Ukrainian side," and as a proof he offered not verdicts of the courts, or at least findings of judicial investigations, but an anonymous correspondence in a Ukrainian paper in America. The fact that this anonymous contribution is signed as if coming from the Ukrainian Military Organization made it at once an official document of the Ukrainian Military Organization. Though such a proof would satisfy no court it was evidently taken as a sufficient proof of the Ukrainian guilt by Polish nationalists. With a peculiar touchiness they argue that if the Ukrainians went before international tribunals with their grievances where they might hurt Poland's reputation, then evidently they had nothing else in view than to hurt Poland. Then the Ukrainian motion in the Polish Parliament is nothing of the redress against real grievances, but a mere political demon-*



stration. With a strange blindness they overlooked the fact that the Ukrainians were interested primarily in helping themselves, and that harm to Poland was incidental.

In this manner the two sides debated many and diversified aspects of the Ukrainian-Polish problem. Each premise accepted by one side was rejected by the other. Though both sides spoke in Polish, yet the terms, like equality, justice, legality, government, power, state, race, treaty, had not the same meaning to both of them. Each of these concepts was colored in with a different hue as it was pronounced by each group. It was due to the fact that each of them started from a completely different principle of government.

Without taking this into consideration, one would come down upon strange contradictions in the attitudes of the Government. There the Government admits that excesses happened, and here it opposes the Ukrainian motion to have the excesses investigated, and opposes it on the ground that motion presupposes that excesses happened. This contradiction is cleared up as soon as the basic attitude of the Polish Government is taken into consideration that to leave with the Parliament the right to order an investigation of the Government's action would be to proclaim that the Government might have acted wrongly in its display of power before the non-Polish races.

Another illustration of this is furnished by the Minister's boast that he had driven out of his position a policeman who stole a watch of a Ukrainian when "pacifying" him. To make an assault upon a person, to punish him without a judicial investigation, without a trial, without a verdict, to whip him, to take away several years of his life, perhaps, his very life, is all a legal act, no excess, but to take that person's watch is an excess. The reasoning is evident: the assault was correct, as it imbues the victim with the power of the Polish Government; the theft is wrong because it suggests that behind the search there is not the purpose of teaching the Ukrainians to fear but the purpose of robbing them.

What seems at first illogical, has a certain logic, albeit a private logic.

Behind all this split there is the basic split of the conception of the nature of the State. In the opinion of the Dictatorship Government the State is the Race. Only one race is the State. Her interests are supreme. Other races have to be subdued. No peaceful life of the races could be expected. No cooperation is possible. Non-State races should be reconciled, but broken. If they are not broken they would break the State-race. The State-race should better realize this at once. If she does not, the Government has the moral right to make them realize by equally harsh methods, as those used against the non-Polish races. The words which forever fall from the lips of this Government are: sides, power, fear.

The only limitation, a seeming limitation, which this policy recognizes is its own entity: if the State-race has to suffer because of some act, that act should be prohibited. Hence, the Government cannot publicly renounce



*the international treaties about racial minorities, in spite of all its frankness in other respects, as by doing so it would undermine that foundation upon which rests the recognition as a State's frontiers. Some day it might have power to treat foreign races and nations to the medicine it doles out to its own subjects. . . .*

*This policy is condemned by another tendency, which views violence either as illegal, or as a bad policy, or as impossible policy. Which then proceeds to construe political entities in accordance with the rules of law, peace, toleration.*

*To solve this conflict between those two principles and attitudes took the Polish Parliament several hours. It was solved by the pro-government majority stopping their ears to the voice of the minority, denouncing the minority as children, bullying them with threats of future court-martials, deriding them in the moments when they seemed to cry relating their miseries, and then running with a steam-roller of the solid majority bloc over every part, even the most modest one, of the aggrieved minority.*

*The Government carried the day. The "pacification" was recognized as an act, if not of law, then at least an act of political wisdom.*

*It was all in harmony with the general tone of the Government's policy. No quarters should be given to the defeated. The sooner they come to realize that there is no hope for them unless they do every bidding of the victors, the better for them.*

*That was their object. Nor could it be said that they honestly believed that they were doing a positive act towards assimilating the Ukrainians not only to the Polish nation, but to the Polish race as well. This they imagine themselves doing in spite of the fact that they would be the first to denounce as impractical politicians those who would try such tactics against the Poles.*

*What effect, however, these "pacification" debates must have upon the country: upon the Ukrainians, who are directly interested in them; upon other non-Polish races, who are interested in them indirectly; upon the Poles themselves?*

*As to the Ukrainians, will they consider this a sufficient moral satisfaction to have become an object of a debate for a day, as a B. B. senator expressed it to the correspondent of the Ukrainian daily "Dilo," "Do you want something more now that the Ukrainian question has never before been discussed for such a long time within the Sejm's walls?" Will they take the lesson implied in the Government's brushing aside all their grievances? Even if that lesson was given in such a rude manner that it would arouse to opposition an average person of any other race? Can they be supposed to be so insensitive to the injustices and wrongs and horrors that this sight of "pacification" debate will not work on them as another moral shock strong enough to haunt them for many years to come? Even if some of them were supposed to be sufficiently dulled or cowed by the horror of "pacification" and its cynical treatment by the Government, will the effect be permanent?*

*Will they never recoil from it, perhaps with a horrible extremeness? If this could be said of the one extreme on the right, what about the moderates of the center, when an old, moderate man like Deputy Halushchynsky, the Vice-Marshall of the previous Senate, sees red when imagining himself "pacified"? And should the extremist of the left also be given up as hopeless, as not capable of being converted to positive, creative cooperation, and is this settlement of the "pacification" by the Government and Parliament an argument against them or for their reasoning?*

*And are the other non-Polish races of Poland more likely to identify themselves with the "pacifiers", or with the "pacified" Ukrainians? Is their affection to Poland more likely to have grown or diminished? Is Poland in this respect grown stronger?*

*And finally, as to the Poles, the rulers of Poland, themselves, is the "pacification" debate more likely to have contributed to inspire them with a feeling of confidence, security in the existence of their nation, or terrorized them, inspired with a sense of insecurity? Doesn't it fill one part of them with a sense of shame, another with arrogance? Will the latter refrain from similar acts, or will they, seeing the Ukrainians still restless, be stirred to new cruelties to prove themselves right in the old ones?*

*Where is Poland drifting with such tactics? Is there nobody to tell her?*

### XXXV.

#### THE "PACIFICATION" BEFORE THE PUBLIC OPINION.

*(With the "settlement" of the "pacification" by the Polish Parliament there was within Poland no more tribunal to which the Ukrainians could appeal. If they wanted to continue their appeals they had to go beyond the frontiers of the Polish Nation. This has been in the meantime prepared by the interest which the world at large took in Ukraine because of the horrors of "pacification.")*

*How the world opinion reacted to these horrors and how that opinion became finally crystalized in certain definite actions tending to render the Ukrainians victimized by the "pacification" some form of redress, is the subject matter of this chapter.—Ed.)*

#### (A)

#### THE POLISH PRESS.

##### 1.

#### POLISH NEWSPAPER CONDEMNS "PACIFICATION" OF UKRAINE.

BERLIN, Tuesday, October 14, 1930. — The "Robotnik," the chief newspaper of the Polish Socialist party, protested against

the sending of punitive expeditions to the Ukraine. It writes that to make the whole and entire population responsible for the deeds of a few individuals is both against modern conceptions of government and also against Polish law. Thousands of innocent people, it continues, are being made to suffer. If wrong has been done on the Ukrainian side the law should, in co-operation with the Ukrainian authorities, deal with the wrong-doers.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, October 15, 1930)

## 2.

### WHERE THE LAW IS SILENT — VIOLENCE TRIUMPHS.

"The law has been silenced when the populace of the country has ceased to be an organized community and in its political struggle has taken to brutal methods of force. Violence then gives birth to violence, and sensible laws and justice grow silent."

Thus wrote Adolphe Thiers, the French thinker, some 80 years ago, analyzing civil strifes and revolutions in France. Do not those words apply to Poland of today?

We have a whole series of facts before our eyes to show that the law at present is mute in Poland. The Polish people cease being a national community ruling themselves sensibly. The passions of partisan strife already seek an outlet in brutal repressions, in violation of every principle of personal liberty, personal safety, freedom of political thought, — and it is spoken openly in Poland, even in the very camp of the government, of the efficacy of these repressions and acts of common violence.

The lesson of violence is not lost. Governmental sources themselves admit that the opposition resorts, or intends to resort, to violence, enters upon the road of conspiracies, and even of a new partition of Poland. There was a report of conspiracy against the life of Pilsudski. Korfanty was reported to intend to break away Silesia from Poland. Socialist militant groups were reported to amass arms and amunitions, which were diligently sought by police and gendarmes.

Isn't all this a natural reaction towards the antecedent violation of parliamentary rule, of forceful dissolution of the Sejm and Senate, of the imprisonment of scores of prominent Polish politicians, accompanied by the violation of the most elementary principles of personal freedom? Hasn't the government's lesson in violation of the law found and will it not in the



future find ready imitators in applying the same methods of sheer force?

In view of such a state of political affairs in Poland, there can be only one result from the internal strife of Poland, and this is a civil war and the state of siege. Pilsudski has more than once threatened that he would apply this method. This is after all a natural result of the growing strife that is carried on outside of the pale of the law and the organized community.

On the other side, in the Eastern Little Poland there is carried on a guerilla political warfare with the more extreme section of the Ukrainian people. Several hundred Ukrainians were arrested; among them ex-deputies, lawyers, political leaders, priests, students of universities and high schools. No one inquires into the desires of the majority of the Ukrainians in Poland and their program of co-existence with Poles. To be sure, the Ukrainian terrorists constitute but a negligible minority, but didn't the revolutionists of the Polish Socialist Party (the so-called fraction of P. P. S.) also constitute a negligible minority in the Polish community of the days of the war with tsardom? By their confused statements of facts, official and semi-official informations concerning the Eastern Little Poland succeed in merely obscuring the actual conditions of this problem. It is known, for instance, that the metropolitan Szeptycki has twice gone to Warsaw in order to personally interview the minister Skladkowski regarding Ukrainian affairs. Pro-government press agencies have completely falsified the role of the metropolitan. We learn only now that Szeptycki intervened personally at Warsaw in the matter of closing Ukrainian high schools at Tarnopol and Rohatyn as well as in the matter of the complete suppression, by order of the authorities, of the "Plast" (Scout), which, as we know, is the Ukrainian organization of boy scouts.

An illness is often cured by means of painful, immediate operation.

("Ameryka-Echo," Polish weekly, Toledo, Ohio,

November 25, 1930).

*(The condemnations of the punitive expedition in Ukraine by the "Robotnik" and by the "Ameryka-Echo" were exceptional incidents in the Polish journalism. Few Polish newspapers outside of Galicia wrote about the punitive expeditions in Ukraine, and still fewer commented on them. Of them only two are known by the editor to have protested, the "Robotnik" persisting in its condemnation, the other paper, The "Czas," of Cracow, soon*



revoking its original condemnation and approving them in its later pronouncements.

Polish press and publicists showed certain signs that they were qualifying their original statements when the Polish dictatorship attacked the Polish opposition.

It may be of interest to add that when the Ukrainian daily "Dilo" of Lviv published verbatim a literal translation of the "Robotnik's" article, the censor suppressed the issue,—thus once again giving the Ukrainians to understand that there are two measures in Poland, one for the Poles, another for the Ukrainians.

*The comments of the Ukrainian press are omitted.—Ed.)*

### (B)

#### CZECHOSLOVAK COMMENTS.

(Not many Czech newspapers reported, and commented on, the Polish terror in Ukraine. The "pacification" of Ukraine fell on the time when a closer rapprochement between Poland and Czechoslovakia was being advocated by influential circles of the two countries.

Besides, there is in Czechoslovakia a certain feeling that the country should unite with Ukraine's enemies in view of the fact as she holds the province of "Carpathian Ruthenia," the representatives of which once applied to the Ukrainian Parliament for union with Ukraine. The Polish press did not pay much attention to this sentiment until the Czechoslovak press started, in December 1930, to discuss the plans of realizing the promised autonomy of Carpathian Ruthenia. Polish pro-government and chauvinistic organs rose then in protest against the plan to grant that autonomy as an act favoring the Ukrainians and directed against the Polish State. The "Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny," the Cracow pro-government daily, in its issue of December 24, 1930, attacked the Czech government for favoring not only the Ukrainians by granting autonomy to Carpathian Ruthenia, but also the Soviet Union, by permitting the films of Soviet production to be exhibited in Czechia, by not preventing communist propaganda to be printed in Czechia and then smuggled into Poland, and so on. The Czechoslovak government is inveighed for favoring the Ukrainians in the following words: "The Czechoslovakian government is anxious today to legalize as soon as possible the autonomy for Carpathian Ruthenia in order to create on the Trans-Carpathian territory a forge for hammering anti-Polish plots and an asylum for every escaped criminal or assassinator from under the banners of the Ukrainian Military Organization". The irritation of the Polish press was clearly due to the analogy between the position of Eastern Galicia and that of Carpathian Ruthenia; the autonomy of each of these territories was guaranteed by the respective State's constitution and international treaties.

*The insolent tone of the Polish press caused such a reaction in the Czechoslovak press that it began writing more freely about the events in Galicia. On the whole, however, such comments came almost exclusively from the Catholic and the Socialist press.—Ed.)*

## 1.

**CZECH CLERICAL ORGAN PROTESTS POLISH TERROR  
AGAINST UKRAINIAN CLERGY.**

Parochial houses were demolished, and priests tortured. The last two incidents of this kind occurred in the villages of Korshiv and Strilche, of the district of Horodenka, here the local priests, Rev. Pisetsky and Rev. Strilehak, were tortured in a most cruel manner. Both were flogged with iron rods so that all their clothing to their very shirts was torn. The parochial houses were demolished. After the soldiers' departure the parishoners had to transfer their priests to peasant huts as their residences were completely ruined...

Internal condition of the Poland is abnormal. The international position of Poland is such that she cannot be envied. It seems to demand peace and strengthening of the republic rather than internal weakening.

("Lid," Prague, the official organ of the clerical "Czechoslovakian People's Party," No. 245).

## 2.

**CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST ORGAN ON POLISH SOCIALIST'S  
TACTICS TOWARDS UKRAINIANS.**

When fires of the households of nobility and peasantry occurred in the Galician districts in the month of September, the Polish nationalist press charged all these incendiarism to the Ukrainian secret organization, although it was officially ascertained that a great number of these fires was due to the speculation of the owners with fire insurance and some even the the work of provocators.

Pilsudski, drunk with the victory of his soldiery over Polish democracy, began "pacification" of Eastern Galicia after the tsarist pattern.

With fire and sword Pilsudski is trying to force the Ukrainians to be loyal to Poland, but his burning and painful solution of the Ukrainian problem will be long decried by Poland herself. (Dr. V. Chorvat, in "*Pravo Lidu*," the organ of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Workers' Party, October 18, 1930).

## 3.

THE UKRAINIANS AND THEIR STRUGGLE  
FOR FREEDOM

It became clear that the Polish pressure upon the Ukrainians produced an undoubted counterpressure. In such conditions the national consciousness of the Ukrainians has developed fully; hence arose secret Ukrainian organizations having as their goal the establishment of independence and freedom for Ukraine. The secret groups are in constant communication with emigrants, and their roots went deep into central Europe and Soviet Russia. Lately there was noticeable among the Ukrainians a strong tendency towards Independence, i.e. towards the establishment of one unit out of all the portions of the Ukrainian territory.

The "Czech", Prague, October 24, 1930.

## 4.

## WHITHER, POLAND?

The agricultural reform carried out by the government 1923-1928, exclusively in the Ukrainian, White Russian and Lithuanian provinces, gave 90% of the divided land among the Polish colonists and legionaires introduced from Poland especially for that purpose without any respect to the fact that the native agricultural population has 27% landless, 70% nearly landless, and only 3% fully independent households. Among the Polish colonists and the Ukrainian native population there exists so far a state of war. On the one hand, the new estates of the armed Polish colonists, on the other hand revolting waves of Ukrainian peasantry. Results: burning down of Polish estates, destruction of colonists, punitive expeditions against the Ukrainians.

The struggle against the Polish government, and the defense against it, is led, since 1921, by the secret Ukrainian Military Organization, of whose acts we read often in the newspapers. The last six months brought a further aggravation of the conditions. After several great political trials the resistance of the Ukrainians

grew in strength. The recent severing, for a night, of telephone and railroad communication of Lviv with the rest of the world had for its purpose the calling of the world's attention to the dangerous situation.

The "Pritomnost", Prague, November 5, 1930.

(C)

### THE RUSSIAN COMMENT.

In Moscow these events are being followed with great interest. There are about 6,000,000 Ukrainians in Poland, but in Russia there are many more, so that there is a certain fellow-feeling as well as the general Russian interest in oppression and in national movements of liberation—especially in neighboring countries,—that gives the Ukrainian tragedy far greater significance in Russian than in any other eyes.

The "Izvestia" wrote in a leading article that the terrible fate of the Ukrainians in Poland shows how futile "bourgeois methods" are against Fascist oppression.

The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, October 15, 1930.

*(The article of the "Izvestia" is an indirect reply to the Polish charge that the whole Ukrainian revolutionary movement in Western Ukraine is communist and that the protests of the Ukrainian immigrants are inspired by Moscow.)*

*A similar article was published by the "Izvestia" on the occasion of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's intervention with the Polish Government at Warsaw. That article is published in this book, page 184.*

*The Polish pro-government press writes occasionally of the terrible fate of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement in Ukraine under the Soviets. When doing this, it calls the race Ukrainians, though speaking of the Ukrainians under Poland it usually speaks of the "Ruthenians," reserving the term of the "Ukrainians" for the revolutionary section of the race.—Ed.)*

(D)

### UKRAINIAN COMMUNIST COMMENT

Hr. Baraba, writing in the "Bolshevyk Ukrayiny" (The Bolshevik of Ukraine), the Ukrainian communist daily, of Kharkiv, No. 22, of 1931, calls arsons an elemental wave which embraces the entire poor peasant population of the village, the adults as well as children. The servants of the large landed estates also take part in arsons. "This elemental movement of the peasant



masses is directed not only against Polish fascism, but also against the West-Ukrainian bourgeoisie and rich peasants. That is why all the parties of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, from the Ukrainian Democratic Union to the Ukrainian Social-Democrats, condemn the movement so resolutely."

*(The above is quoted from an article of the "Dilo," the Ukrainian nationalist daily. The "Dilo" is of the opinion that such a statement may easily serve the Polish government as an excuse for more reprisals, and accuses the "Bolshevyk Ukrayiny" of provocative activities. But, the "Dilo" comments, it is a typical communist policy towards all the countries outside of the Soviet Union, "The worse—the better.")*

*The opinion of the "Bolshevyk Ukrayiny" of the communist origin of all the arsons under the Polish dominion is surely a boast of the wide influences of the communist propaganda. It is doubtful if even all the readers of the "Bolshevyk Ukrayiny" would be duped by it. They have probably read the article of the "Isvestia", which is mentioned in the preceding paragraph.*

*In their foreign propaganda, the Poles, too, like to use occasionally the charge that all the arsons in the Ukrainian territory are attributable to the Ukrainian Military Organization and that this Organization is inspired by communists. The Poles, however, themselves have often attested to the fact that all the arsons cannot be laid at the door of the Ukrainian Military Organization and that this Organization is a purely nationalist organization aiming at the reconstruction of the Ukrainian State, and directed as much against Russia as against Poland.*

*For instance, Mr. Iwachow, the commissar of the Polish state police, the councillor of the Polish voyvoda of Lviv, during one of many trials against the alleged members of the Ukrainian Military Organization, taking the witness stand on June 17 and 18, 1930, declared under oath as follows:*

*"The ultimate aim of the Ukrainian Military Organization is the construction, by revolutionary means, of an independent, united national Ukrainian State. The method which should serve this purpose is the preparation of armed uprisings, that is, against Poland, the Soviet Union, Roumania and Czechoslovakia . . . The Ukrainian Military Organization aims at the creation of an independent state based upon the sole strength of the people themselves." (See the reports of the trial in the semi-official "Dziennik Lwow-ski".—Ed.)*

## (E)

## THE ITALIAN COMMENT.

THE POLISH GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN AGENTS  
SUPPRESS PRESS COMMENTS

The "Temps", in its issue dated Paris, October 14, brought the following telegram from its Rome correspondent:

"The fascist press lately wrote several times about the internal situation in Poland. 'Popolo d'Italia' and other newspapers (e.g. 'Lavoro Fascista'), which so far took a favorable attitude to Marshal Pilsudski's internal policy, today rose against the arrests of deputies and against the campaign of the government against the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. Polish circles in Rome are astonished at such an attitude from the Fascist press; we learn that the Polish plenipotentiary in Rome, acting in the place of the Polish ambassador, will make today appropriate steps in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

"Dilo", Lviv, October 21, 1930.

*(As neither the "Temps," nor any other French newspaper, except the communist papers, could be suspected of not being Polonophile, this report of the "Temps" is in all probability true. This attempt to suppress press comments comes from the same government which has invited, through Mr. Tytus Filipowicz, the Polish ambassador to the United States, all foreign correspondents to come to Poland and to see for themselves.—Ed.)*

## (F)

## A SWISS COMMENT

Poles did not restrain themselves even from the desecration of churches. Thus, for instance, in the village of Ostiaky, Polish soldiers tore down from the walls of the church the pictures of saints and with wild calls stamped them under their feet in the church yard.

Our readers probably have all heard of these persecutions of Christianity by the Poles. But why haven't the Catholic newspapers of Switzerland written about them? And why has there been no demonstration against these persecutions?

("Baseler Vorwaerts", Basel, Switzerland, November 13, 1930.)

## (G)

## GERMAN COMMENTS.

The German press has also begun to give the matter a considerable amount of attention. The "Vorwaerts" has given many details of what the Polish "punitive expeditions" are doing in the Ukraine, and says that they are reminiscent of what the Black and Tans did in Ireland.

The "Vorwaerts" has written under headlines that, though apparently sensational, are nevertheless warranted by the facts: "Extermination of a people in a neighboring country—Polish cavalry and police brutality toward Urainian peasantry—Hundreds beaten bloody—Cooperatives destroyed—Libraries burnt."

The "Vorwaerts" concludes with the words: "And all this is happening while the Polish Foreign Minister, Zaleski, talks about human rights in Geneva and about the humane treatment of the minorities. All this is happening under the auspices of the League of Nations."

("Vorwaerts", by the way, is perhaps the most Polonophil of German papers and has been uncompromising in its attacks on every kind of anti-Polish agitation in Germany.)

The Liberal "Vossische Zeitung" published an article by its Warsaw correspondent, M. Birnbaum, one of the most moderate and objective observers of Polish affairs. He writes: "The prisons are crowded with arrested politicians, priests, students, and even with older schoolboys. Strong forces of police and cavalry scour the land." There seems to be no end in sight to the disasters that are being inflicted on the Ukrainians. A solution of the Ukrainian problem would seem to be further than ever. The hope that there can be any kind of Polish-Ukrainian understanding seems in M. Birnbaum's opinion to have been "drowned in the blood flowing in Eastern Galicia".

The Manchester Guardian, Oct. 15, 1930.

## (H)

## FRENCH COMMENTS

## 1.

## COMMENT OF A CATHOLIC ORGAN

There is no provincial seym, and numerous schools, that pride of Ukraine, have been closed or Polonized. The Ukrainian university has been closed. But the worst evil is the agrarian policy,

which has been pursued persistently for ten years. In Galicia Polish magnates have large estates, the agrarian reform was carried out for the benefit of Polish colonists. Settlement of the Ukrainian provinces by Poles causes a great unrest among the Ukrainian peasantry. We cannot omit also the fact that the Poles of the Roman-Catholic religion treat the Ukrainians of the Uniate and Orthodox Church as with contempt."

"La Croix," Paris, November 5, 1930.

## 2.

### COMMENT ON THE POLISH PERSECUTIONS OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

To pacify with strong hand. . . . We know what this means. It has already brought about the closing of Ukrainian schools, which had been permitted under the Austrian regime, damaging of the Library of the Ukrainian Scientific Society of Shevchenko, destruction of Ukrainian cooperatives. . . .

"La Republique", Paris, November 20, 1930, No. 529.

## 3.

### CONDEMNNS BARBARISM OF THE DICTATORSHIP GOVERNMENT

In that part of Ukraine, which is known as Galicia there occurred incidents of highest cruelty and bestialism. Pilsudski's Government draws upon itself the curses of all humanity if it visits upon the entire population, without respect to age and sex, punishments for the crimes of individuals.

Paul Lenormand: WHAT IS HAPPENING IN EASTERN GALICIA? In "Le Progress Civique", No. 584, October 25, 1930.

## 4.

CESARE SANTANO: En Pologne pendant les Elections. 1930. Albert Kunding, Geneva, 1931.

The author of the documents of the Polish election methods is the correspondent of the newspapers: the "Volonte", "Ere Nouvelle", and "Depeche de Toulouse".

On pages 19-25, he gives a chapter entitled, Action Pacifique un Ukraine.



There are many photographs of the pogroms of the Ukrainian people, a map of Poland with the frontiers clearly marked. We find in the book the following paragraph:

"We conclude this sad and stirring review of events which remind one of the most barbarous and lurid periods of history."

"Le Journal de Debats", a thoroughly Polonophil organ, publishes an article on the Brest affair, very critical towards Poland.

The "Action", the official organ of the French Masons, publishes a criticism of the book "La France et la Pologne," by Rene Martel. The author of the criticism, Dr. Deleney, writes:

"Poland obtained, or rather occupied Galicia, which is clearly a Ukrainian land. She oppressed the populace of these territories in a most revolting manner."

Further we read, "Murders, imprisonments, and so on. Such are the Polish methods. . . ."

The "Independence", in Ukrainian, Paris, March, 1931.

### 5.

## A GREAT FRENCH DAILY ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND

The French opinion, without respect to the parties, begins to ask with fear, Whither goes Poland? Cruelties committed in Brest, in the prison of Luck, the "pacification" of Eastern Galicia, the announced trial of the representatives of the racial minorities, of the Polish socialists,—all this has provoked a unanimous protest from all the civilized countries. The French sentiment was stirred somewhat later. We believed that the reports of some regrettable events which occurred in Poland were exaggerated and that they were merely of local character. We preferred to know first the evil in its entity. The official silence was first broken by the M. Locquin, the president of the Franco-Polish Parliamentary Committee, who published a courageous article in the "Populaire" and in the "Cahier de la Ligue de Droit de l'Homme". New reports were added by Joueau and Vandervelde. Finally, the conservative press, too, recovered from its stupor, and on January 31, 1931, M. Pierre Berni put down his anxieties in the "Journal de Debats". It must be admitted that the Poles themselves have asked, so to say, the assistance of the French public justice, in publishing in the largest review of the Slavic sciences in France, "Le Monde Slave", the errors and crimes committed in Eastern Galicia. There is no doubt that some conservative circles of Cracow have exerted pressure upon the French circles favorably disposed towards Poland to intervene with the purpose of preventing still worse evils.

Finally, the Vatican has grown terrified at the reports of the persecutions of the Greek-Uniat church, whose importance in the Ukrainian life is great. Hence there is no wonder that the first protest against Galician massacres was raised by the "Croix", the official organ of the Catholics. Nowadays nobody denies the difficult situation in Poland. The ill-treatment of the Polish deputies imprisoned in Brest is well known. A detailed report of it was published in the periodical "Bulletin" of the Polish press, in the letter of 45 Polish university professors of Cracow about the humiliations and malicious maltreatment of the Polish Parliamentarians at the order of Marshal Pilsudski. Less known are the events which took place in the prison in Luck. Luck is a small town in Volhynia, which has a large prison. It was filled, before the elections, with political prisoners, and the prison management tormented, with true sadistic cruelty, the hapless human cattle. Women were exposed to horrible tortures, some of them have their sex organs burnt with electric current, male prisoners, too, have their sex organs damaged. A torture chamber was built next to the room of the investigating judge, and the inquiry was carried out in the presence and with the assistance of executioners. The "pacification" of Eastern Galicia left behind 10,000 victims, the damages done to the Ukrainian villages amount to several score millions gold franks. Hundreds of villages were robbed, half of them are destroyed. The pretext of Ukrainian sabotages does not excuse the extent and the cruelty of the reprisals. It appears that the Poles wanted to break by means of terror the Ukrainian racial will, to destroy the morale and unity of the populace by means of such hellish violence. Some friends of Pilsudski have the audacity even to say that "by pacification of Galicia, they have protected the rears of the future front". We read further that the Polish Government intends to seek a new loan in France. Isn't the theft of French savings in the Eastern Galician oil wells enough? Poland dreams of resurrecting the traditions of Tsars, whose heir she considers herself to be. . . . Polish democrats would never forgive us such an error. Thugutt, one of the creators of the Polish State, once a vice-premier of the Polish Government, declared in Cracow, on June 28, 1930, "Poland cannot boast of the hope that she will receive a financial support from abroad since nobody would care to loan such a Nation which is ruled by a mania and which has no respect for the law."

"La Volonte", February 20, 1931.

## 6

## A FRENCH COMMENT IN A LITHUANIAN NEWSPAPER.

*EASTERN GALICIA AND EUROPE.*

The problem of Eastern Galicia was lately debated at the Congress of Racial Minorities at Geneva. Notwithstanding all the difficulties connected with raising this problem at an international forum owing to the confused international relations generally, and to the fact that the Ukrainians have no representatives in the Section of Minorities, the Ukrainians succeeded in bringing this problem into the daylight. The superhuman energy of Ukrainian leaders and their belief in the better future of their people made on all a deep impression. It is probable that the great courage of the Ukrainians, as well as their misfortunes and tragedies had a great influence upon the English-speaking people.

At the same time the Ukrainian members of the Polish Sejm and Senate had entered an energetic protest against the Polish tyranny on their lands. This protest was strong and of great importance. It was supported by facts. Every word of the protest was pregnant with significance and expressed strong will of a people ready to break the fetters imposed upon them.

That protest was in fact an appeal to the entire civilized world made in the name of Eastern Galicia and all the Ukrainians under the Polish yoke. The Ukrainians remind the Allied Powers of their promises which never been carried out. No sooner had Poland been resurrected than she had become a prison of races. She destroyed the home rule of Eastern Galicia, closed Ukrainian schools, started a persecution of the Orthodox as well as of Uniate Catholics, and drove by such measures into misery all the provinces over which her dominion extends. There is no need to repeat to the Lithuanians Poland's misdeeds. I am calling the attention of the readers to a book to be published almost simultaneously with this article. It was written by me and I called it "Truth about Europe".

After the conclusion of the Congress of Racial Minorities the situation of Eastern Galicia grew worse. The activities of secret terroristic organization are repressed by punitive expeditions. In the year of 1930, we see the methods of tsarism in use. Out of Poland arrive detachments of cavalry and destroy Ukrainian

villages. Men are flogged, women and girls violated, contribution are levied. We are in possession of letters emanating from Eastern Galicia which describe those nefarious, unheard-of acts. In a village, which was pillaged by the Uhlans' regiment No. 14, the colonel, after a whole-night orgy, ordered the women and girls of this village to don their Sunday best and to conduct with songs the soldiers marching out of the village. In another case, a Ukrainian cooperative store was demolished only because Pilsudski's portrait in it was not decorated.

All these facts are known in France to a degree undesired by the Poles. In Paris the Poles started an offensive of silence. They want the French press to keep mute about all the cruelties perpetrated in Eastern Galicia. Into the editorial offices float fat checks. In the beginning there were published several telegrams in which the Ukrainian terrorists were placed on equal footing with communists. But thanks to Geneva and above all to the German press, the thruth has leaked out.

We rejoice in this to no small degree as now we may observe a constant evolution of the responsible statesmen of France. They are already beginning to understand that the alliance of France with Poland is a mortal sin which may bring France to ruin. They do not know as yet how to come out of this predicament. They would like very much to know the way out, but so far they do not see it. It is, however, already a great progress if responsible politicians admit their error.

The persecutions carried on in Eastern Galicia have also other results. They will open the eyes of those Frenchmen who are still blinded. The French democracy will not tolerate cruelties against a defenseless people. Poland is France's ally. Alas, it is so. But let not Poland forget that this alliance gives the French the right of inquiry which they will under no circumstances abandon. The French do not see races of different kinds, lords and slaves in Poland; there the French see only free citizens, equal before the law. These citizens must be respected and treated as humans. If Poland does not understand this, than French statesmen will remind her how humans shall be treated.

The trial has already started. We will defend it.

(*Rene Martel*, in the "*Lietuvos Aidas*," Lithuanian daily, Kaunas,

October 7, 1930).



## 7.

## THE APPREHENSIONS OF A SLAV ORGAN

We ask with anxiety what will happen in the case of the mobilization of the Polish armies, when 200,000 Ukrainians will get arms into their hands.

"Le Monde Slave", No. 3, September, 1930.

*("Le Monde Slave" is a scientific organ for bringing together the cultures of France and of the "Slavic World."—Ed.)*

## 8.

THE LEAGUE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND FRENCH  
PUBLIC OPINION

The president of the League of the Rights of Man is reported to have replied to the addresses by Dr. Paneyko and Dr. Borshchak, at the session of the League:

"The League will do everything in its power to acquaint the French public of this. The International League will consider the possibility of sending to Galicia of a special commission of inquiry, composed of the representatives of the Leagues of France, Germany, and Czechoslovakia, which will make its observations and will do everything possible to make known the tragic position of Galicia."

"Le Cahier de Droit de l'Homme," Paris, November 30, 1930.

## (I)

## BELGIAN COMMENTS.

"La Libre Belgique", the great Belgian daily, of November 22, 1930, describes the pogroms in Galicia, the destruction of Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions, the attack upon the Ukrainian orphans' asylum of Basilian Sisters, the intervention of the Ukrainian Metropolitan, and so on. It says:

"Do we live under the Bolsheviki or in von Bissing's time? All this happens in Poland and what more—in the name of order."

"La Walonie", the great daily of Liege, in its issue of November 25, 1930, writes:

"Galician villages were handed over to the hands of soldiery and police, which go from one village to another and under the pretext of investigation perform various acts of malice. Whatever

is Ukrainian is not spared. Neither cultural institutions, nor the clergy, nor monasteries. These are the "feats" which the Polish government tries to conceal from the wide world."

(*The quotations are taken indirectly from the "Nezalezhnist" (Independence), a Ukrainian fortnightly, Paris, January 15, 1931.—Ed.*)

(J)

ENGLISH COMMENTS.

1.

THE POLISH TERROR IN UKRAINE.

Eastern Galicia — the scene of the present Polish terror — came into Polish hands not so much by the will of the Powers as by the right of conquest. For a hundred and fifty years Galicia was Austria's province beyond the crest of the Carpathians, but, though it looked to Vienna for its final orders, it was largely governed by its local Polish aristocracy, a fact which accounts for the comparative loyalty of the Austrian Poles to the old Dual Monarchy. It also accounts for the reluctance of Poland to make any concessions to the local Nationalist movement of the Ukrainians who form in Eastern Galicia the great bulk of the population. The Poles are not trying to acquire a new hegemony; they are struggling to prevent the loss of a long-established right to rule a nation which they regard as uncivilised. Galicia is also of importance to Poland because of its oil-wells. According to the old census of religions, 63 per cent of Eastern Galicia's 4,500,000 inhabitants were Ukrainians and 12 per cent Jews, so that about a quarter of the population was Polish. But that does not prevent Eastern Galicia being an overwhelming Ukrainian countryside, since 200,000 of the Poles live in the one city of Lemberg. Even before the war there was a flourishing nationalism. After the war it took to arms, and while the Peace Conference was sitting in Paris a bitter war was being fought in Eastern Galicia. While the Conference was deliberating the Poles were advancing, so that in the end, though not till 1923, and on a promise of autonomy, the Powers had to recognise Poland as fully sovereign over a country for which they had hoped to secure the right of self-determination.

*A British Proposal Rejected.*

This was little more than the official recognition of a state of affairs which had been in existence since June, 1919. In May of that year the Poles attacked in force, in June they were given

permission to complete their occupation, and the damage was done by the rejection of a British proposal to send a High Commissioner to safeguard the interests of the Ukrainians. Subsequently, in November, it was agreed that Poland should be given a mandate for 25 years, at the end of which time the League would decide the country's fate, but this was never more than a dead letter, and was soon dropped.

British efforts to protect the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia failed, partly because of the danger from the Ukraine proper, which is now one of the constituent States of the Soviet Union. Here there lives a population of nearly thirty millions. They are in race Ruthenians, Little Russians, or Ukrainians — the terms are really synonymous, — and thus are divided from the Polish Ukrainians by nothing except the international frontier and the strength in Galicia of the Uniate Church, which, though Orthodox in ritual, acknowledges the Pope's supremacy. The fact that the Ukrainians in Russia are not only far more numerous but enjoy greater cultural liberty, necessarily acts as a magnet which attracts the nationalism of Eastern Galicia.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, October 15, 1930).

## 2.

### THE CASE OF POLAND

In no country is the precise and impartial ascertainment of facts more necessary than it is in Poland, and no country has a greater interest in presenting to the world an irrefutable case. Polish methods of repressing incendiarism and other acts of sabotage, of which sundry Ukrainian groups were guilty last autumn in East Galicia, have been brutal to a degree which reasonable Poles are the first to deplore and condemn. While it may be true that these acts were instigated or encouraged from Berlin, the fact that they were committed justifies neither the neglect of the Polish Government to remove legitimate Ukrainian grievances nor its folly in playing into the hands of its enemies by dragooning whole Ukrainian districts. The folly was the greater because it strengthened the hands of Poland's detractors who lose no opportunity of declaiming against the Polish Corridor and the Upper Silesian settlement. The case for the Polish Corridor is far stronger than the public in Western Europe and in the United States understands. Poland has nothing to lose by an impartial ascertainment of the facts concerning it and, especially, in regard to the position in East Prussia. But Poland or, rather, the "Cab-

inet of Colonels" by which Marshal Pilsudski has thought fit to surround himself, chills many sympathies by the adoption of methods similar to those employed by the old Bolshevik regime in Russia or by the Fascist Dictatorship in Italy.

The Review of Reviews, London, December 15, 1930.

*(The above article was suppressed by the Polish censor, when several Ukrainian newspapers tried to publish it in Ukrainian translation. If Poland really has nothing to lose by an impartial ascertainment of the facts,—which is the only suggestion of the above article,—why is she so anxious to have all investigations prevented, nay, even the suggestion of such an investigation suppressed?—Ed.)*

### 3.

There is grave cause for anxiety about internal conditions in Poland. Many of Marshal Pilsudski's leading opponents are now in prison, where they were placed in order that they might be incapacitated from taking part in the November elections. It is asserted that grave terrorism occurred both before and during the elections and that the results cannot be held to give any clue to popular opinion. Strong censorship in Poland makes it difficult to inquire into the actual circumstances of the terror. But Miss Mary Sheepshanks, formerly Head of Morley College, has made a personal tour of the Polish Ukraine on behalf of several international organizations of women. Her report confirms the evidence of the Manchester Guardian correspondent. During the September raids men were flogged; women were ill-treated and insulted; village reading-rooms, libraries and co-operative stores were wantonly destroyed; agricultural instruments were broken; destruction and cruelty were indulged in on a wholesale scale. Tactics of this kind cannot long remain unexposed, and it is not likely that even Poland's most powerful ally will readily acquiesce in a policy containing so few of the elements of political stability.

*(The Nation — England, December 27, 1930).*

### 4.

#### POLAND AND HER MINORITIES.

Even those who, on principle, distrust minority scare-mongering begin to be drawn by the accumulating evidence of what has taken place in Eastern Galicia. The Council of the League next



month will have unusually precise and impressive facts before it. One of the best, as well as the most illuminating elements in the evidence is the desire of serious Poles that foreign condemnation should help to rid them of these Pilsudski visitations. There is little doubt about the crimes committed. They are of the spectacular kind that invite prompt and drastic condemnation.

(*Observer* — England, December 28, 1930).

5.

Appeals and protests against the barbarous treatment of the minorities in Poland multiply day by day. We are not much impressed by the familiar type of official denials; the evidence that we have comes from reliable sources and it is overwhelming. In hundreds of villages in Eastern Galicia there has been a veritable reign of terror. Troops have descended on them and indulged in campaign of savage flogging and other outrages, together with a systematic destruction of property. The details which we have before us are too sickening to describe. Of course, the Poles may argue that they are forced to deal sternly with a disaffected people, but there has in fact been no such provocation and no such danger to the Polish State as could afford any excuse for the outrages perpetrated on these Ukrainian peasants. Nor is there any excuse that we can see for the miseries and tortures to which a number of the Opposition members of Parliament have been subjected in the prisons into which they were thrown after their arrest a few months ago. In saying all this we are not indicting a nation. The great mass of honest and decent Poles who know the facts are ashamed and horrified at what is being done by their Government. There seems to be no doubt that Marshal Pilsudski is the villain of the piece. Whether he and his agents are amenable to the voice of civilised public opinion, we do not know. But the Governments of the western Powers, including our own, who are signatories of the Minorities Treaties, ought to do all that they can to stop this criminal madness. If it goes on, Poland will pay heavily — and so probably will the rest of Europe — when the day of reckoning comes.

(*The New Statesman* — England, December 27, 1930)

(K)

## A JEWISH COMMENT.

## A PRECEDENT TO BE SET

The Ukrainian National Association addressed an appeal to Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, of Washington, asking that the United States take the initiative in starting an international investigation of "the campaign of ruthless wholesale massacres instigated by the government of Poland" in Galicia and Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian National Association believes itself justified in taking this step because the League of Nations does nothing to alleviate the sufferings of racial minorities under Poland. There can be no doubt as to the appropriateness of this political action, which is of tremendous concern to Jews. This not only because there are many Jews among the victims of these Galician massacres, which are of a grave character; not only because many Jews are being tortured and flogged in these districts every day, though the efficient Polish censorship sees to it that the outside world knows nothing about it; but because Jewish organizations of this continent have for some time been protesting and submitting memoranda to ambassadors and prime ministers about anti-Jewish discrimination by the Polish government, and because the results of these various steps have been nil. Now a non-Jewish organization, realizing the futility of such action, addresses itself directly to the United States Department of State. Jews the world over will be hoping that the United States government will conduct an investigation. For it would also have to investigate the barbaric economic and political boycott carried on by the Polish government.

The "Jewish Standard," Toronto, Canada, October 31, 1930.

(L).

## AMERICAN COMMENTS.

## COMMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

*(The American press took towards the events in Western Ukraine a different attitude from that of the European press. On the whole, prominent American newspapers, which maintained efficient correspondents in that section of Europe, gave wide reports of the conditions. Among those stand out: the New York Herald Tribune, the Chicago Daily News, the Buffalo Evening News, the Inquirer and the Public Ledger of Philadelphia, the*

*Christian Science Monitor*, and a few others. These papers preferred to write the reports than to comment upon them.

The American press further gave a wide publicity to the protests of Americans of Ukrainian origin against the "pacification". Such protests were arranged in every city and town of the United States which has a certain number of those people. The Ukrainians in the United States are naturally divided politically, the division referring partly to the purely American politics, partly to the relations to the old country. All kinds of shadings are represented among them, from the most conservative to the communist. The anti-Polish protest united all the Ukrainian nationalist factions of the right and the center, the communists, in accordance with their policy, arranging meetings of their own.

According to the reports published by the various American newspapers, there were held in the United States about three scores larger mass meetings and protest parades, by the united right and center of the Ukrainian immigration. More than a thousand persons were reported by American papers in the following meetings: Allentown, Pa., November 11, 1,000, by the *Call*; Buffalo, New York, November 24, 1930, 1,500, by *Courier-Express* and the *News*; Rochester, New York, November 6, 1930, 1,500, by the *Democrat and Chronicle*; Frackville, Pa., November 2, 1,500, by the *Pottsville Republican*; Pittsburgh, Pa., November 16, 2,500, by the *Post and the Press*; Chicago, Ill., November 12, 3,000, by the *Daily News*; Scranton, Pa., November 9, 4,000, by the *Sun*, the *Times*, the *Scrantonian*, and the *Republican*; Providence R. I., November 17, 4,000, by the *Journal*; Cleveland, Ohio, November 15, the *Plain Dealer* and the *News*; Detroit, Mich., November 16, 7,000, by the *News* and the *Times*; Philadelphia, Pa., December 7, 15,000, by the *Record*, *Public Ledger*, and the *Inquirer*; and New York City, November 15, 20,000, by the *Herald Tribune*, the *Times*, and the *World*.

The resolutions passed at those meetings registered the protests of the Ukrainian Americans and their friends against the "pacification" and demanded an investigation of the conditions in Ukraine under Polish occupation by an impartial international agency with due guarantees given to Ukrainian witnesses. The United States Secretary of State at Washington and the League of the Nations were usually made the recipients of such protests;—this excluded from participation in such meetings the communists who consider beforehand such protest as useless and view the "pacification" only as an argument for the necessity of a class war and a class revolution.

Occasionally, the press or various international agencies of peace or conciliation were appealed to. The governments of the Allied and Associated Powers were reminded of their responsibility for the state of affairs under the Polish dominion. American congressmen and senators were appealed to use their influence with the Government of the United States to make it bear a pressure upon the Polish Government, to discontinue the

reprisals. In rare cases, the Polish Government itself was made the recipient of the protests.

*The position of the American press was complicated by the presence in America of the Polish propaganda, emanating partly from the official representatives of the Polish Government, partly from various civic organizations of the Polish colony. The Polish press in America was greatly instrumental in arousing the American Poles to the need of counteracting the findings of foreign investigators in Poland. Under the pressure of the Polish propaganda some American newspapers refused to publish news of the Polish reprisals or of protests in America against them, calling this attitude "non-partisan," though it was evidently an attitude strongly partisan as it did not prevent the Polish Government from continuing its reprisals but prevented the Ukrainians from even voicing their grievances. Many American newspapers, however, be it stated with due fairness, understood the non-partisanship in such a manner that they allowed each side to present its arguments in support of its contentions.)*

#### 1.

#### THE COMMENTS OF AN ITALIAN STATESMAN IN AMERICAN PRESS

"Recent dispatches from Europe have told of a "reign of terror" that has broken out in the southeastern corner of Poland where some 3,000,000 Ukrainians are massed in the Province of East Galicia. Several months ago a Ukrainian society whose directors aspire to liberate East Galicia from Polish rule and link it up with the Soviet Ukraine in a Ukrainian empire, are reported to have launched a systematic campaign against Polish private property. Nearly 200 cases of incendiarism were reported, houses and crops being destroyed.

"When civil authorities failed to meet the situation four squadrons of Polish cavalry were sent into the district. But their "pacification" program is said to have resulted in a virtual reign of terror. Two hundred thousand Ukrainians, the dispatches say, have been thrown into jail, priests and peasants flogged, cottages unroofed, cooperative stores looted and ruinous requisitions for foodstuffs levied on the villages.

New York Herald Tribune, Sunday, October 26, 1930.

"When one knows, as I think I know, the tremendous power of resistance of the Ukrainians, their economic activity, their moral force which makes them—probably alone of all the Slavs voluntary teetotalers (their successful co-operative stores re-



fuse to sell spirits) one feels obliged to doubt very strongly that Poland will ever be able to swallow and Polonize these 4,000,000 men.

"The Defensive, all the Ukrainians are secretly working for their national dream; the poor ones work for some sort of annexation to Soviet Russia; the Ukrainians of the middle and upper classes work for some future independent Ukrainia, created at the expense of Russia as well as of Poland, and reaching to the Black Sea.

"Dreams? Possibly; probably. But even the resurrection of Poland seemed a dream to the wise ones twenty years ago."

Count Carlo Sforza: *The Polish Dictator*, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, October 26, 1930.

## 2.

### INCENDIARISM AGAINST POLISH COLONISTS THE POLISH TERROR IN GALICIA

By Mauritz A. Hallgren

Dictator Pilsudski has apparently fallen back upon terrorism as the only practical means of making good Poles of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. Since 1918 Poland has tried in various ways to tame these rebels, first by force of arms, then by a hypocritical show of political kindness, and more recently by education of the character generally applied to minorities throughout Europe. Warsaw has been rewarded for its efforts by seeing the long-smoldering resentment of the Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, against Poland's theft of their independence break out into actual rebellion against Polish domination. The insurrection, according to dispatches from Lemberg published in the Polish, German, and English press, has taken the form of incendiarism, Ruthenian peasants putting the torch to the property of the wealthy Polish landowners who for decades have been the governing lords of the district. Pilsudski has now apparently decided to resort once more to the old imperialistic weapon of military invasion to "pacify" the inhabitants; but it is still to be seen whether education by terrorism and the knout will be any more successful in enhancing the love of the Ruthenians for Polish rule.

The stolen province has proved somewhat indigestible. The history of its people in the past decade has paralleled the history

of most European minorities, but with one notable departure. Other minorities have had mother-countries to plead their cause at Geneva; the Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, of Eastern Galicia have had no one to speak for them before the League of Nations. According to American correspondents, their petitions and complaints "invariably find their way to the scrap-basket, as there is no one at the League secretariat who cares anything about these peoples." It is not surprising, then, that they have chosen more direct means of expressing their grievances. The epidemic of barn burning and crop destroying that has swept over Eastern Galicia in the past six months was not the beginning of the rebellion. Months before this incendiarism was reported, numerous dispatches from Warsaw, Lemberg, and elsewhere hinted at the spread of insurrection. The Polish Minister of Education was quoted as saying that "treasonable agitation has been discovered in countless Ukrainian schools of Eastern Galicia." He ordered all such schools closed. The Ukrainian Boy Scouts have been disbanded for similar reasons, and a number of lawyers, judges, and teachers have been arrested for their connection with the organization. Whole villages have been accused of treason against the Polish state.

Under Austria-Hungary the province of Galicia was granted a special representative with the rank of government minister to sit with the Vienna Cabinet, and it was permitted to have a legislative assembly and governor of its own choosing. It was in fact, if not in name, an independent state within the framework of the Dual Monarchy, though the benefits of self-government went entirely to the Polish landowners and not to the Polish and Ruthenian peasants. Under the domination of Warsaw, Eastern Galician aspirations have been suppressed in the interest of Polish patriotism; the province has not been granted even the small measure of autonomy promised by the Allies; and now it has had settled upon it a sword-brandishing, knout-wielding soldiery. There have been grief allusions to this state of affairs in the British and French press for several weeks; the German and Russian newspapers have described it in more detail. Perhaps the most accurate account reaching the United States thus far has been sent here by John Elliott, Berlin correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, who took the trouble to go down into Galicia to investigate the reports of military terrorism and barbarism.

The Nation, New York, November 5, 1930.

## 3.

## POLAND AND THE UKRAINE

There are in Philadelphia some 20,000 persons of Ukrainian birth or antecedence. Last Sunday 15,000 of them took part in an impressive demonstration of protest against "terrorism" in the Ukraine.

America, founded as a climax of the quest for freedom, can never be anything but friendly toward strugglers for liberty.

It was not America, it was an American, who, at Versailles, endeavored to steer the Peace Conference into ways of constructive redrafting of the map of Europe. Woodrow Wilson sincerely desired the welfare of racial minorities. The Conference reached a tragically incomplete settlement; the old rivalries, the ancient confusion, baffled the attempt.

But a great gain was made in merely giving a START to such purposes of reorganization.

Poland, with the Ukraine and the troublous Corridor to the sea, cutting East Prussia off from Germany, is bound to be a storm center.

The Ukrainians who made that orderly demonstration in this city on Sunday have an attentive audience for their protest, their stories of persecution.

At the same time, while popular sympathy is aroused, we have also, as Americans, to bear in mind that our population includes hosts of persons who were born in Poland, or are descended from Polish ancestors: Russian Poles, Austrian Poles, German Poles of the prewar times.

The Philadelphia Ukrainians are sending a dignified memorandum of their case to Secretary Stimson and President Hoover, urging them to do what the Government can for Ukrainian independence.

The Government can't do anything immediately and directly. The utmost it could do would be to address an inquiry and possibly a remonstrance to the Polish Government.

The Philadelphia Record, Sunday, December 7, 1930.

## 4.

## POLISH METHODS OF GOVERNMENT ARRAIGNED

Judging by the outrages perpetrated in East Galicia against the Ukrainians and in Upper Silesia against the Germans, his ene-

mies would say that the Polish dictator has modeled his methods of instruction on the style of that famous educator, Wackford Squeers, headmaster of Dotheboys' Hall. Ignace Daszynski, Polish Socialist leader, and former Marshal of the Sejm, once in replying to a storm of Billingsgate that Pilsudski frequently poured on the Parliament, made a pertinent inquiry as to whether the Marshal would educate his son or even a dog by continually showering abuse on him.

From a dispatch to the Philadelphia Inquirer, December 14, 1930.

### 5.

A few years ago the world's heart bled for the unhappy Poles, forced to forego the joys of self-determination and nationalism; today, the excesses of Polish chauvinism are the scandal of Europe. Marshal Pilsudski's tyrannical dictatorship has done its best to hide from the outside world what it has recently been doing; but, as is usual with such efforts, they have been unavailing. . . . Throughout upper Silesia, the German-speaking voters were disfranchised wholesale. Each of the Polish political parties had a separate ballot, printed in advance; the would-be voter had to enter the polling place and ask for the ballot of his party in the presence of a group of Pilsudski's home guards. The Germans found in most cases that there were no ballots except for Pilsudski party and a few others of no significance; if he were foolish enough to insist on voting for his own party, he was thrown out into the street and mercilessly beaten. . . . Germany has protested to the League of Nations in such terms that the League can hardly avoid taking some sort of action. . . .

Even more brutal and ruthless has been the Polish treatment of numbers of Ukrainian peasants in eastern Galicia. Some of these peasants having become "disaffected"—with what justification it is impossible to say—several regiments of Polish soldiers were turned loose in the region to terrorize the inhabitants. Correspondents of The Manchester Guardian and of The Chicago Daily News have just been through the districts in question, and give testimony, whose reliability cannot be questioned, as to what has been done. The Poles have destroyed the Ukrainian cooperative shops and the reading rooms and offices of all their cultural societies. In some cases peasants had set fire to haystacks and outhouses on Polish estates, and the soldiers, with no attempt to find the guilty persons, have beaten scores of men so terribly that



in some cases they will be invalids for life. All the inhabitants of a small area are herded into a barn, and the men are laid, one after another, upon a table, and beaten into unconsciousness; they are then revived with water and beaten again. The peasants say that at least five men have been killed by the soldiers; the Poles admit the deaths, but contend that three of the victims were "shot while trying to escape"—good old military excuse!—and that the two others "died of illness while under arrest." Even women and children have been beaten, when not properly subservient, and women have been raped, in accordance with the general custom of soldiers in an alien countryside. Much property of the peasants has been destroyed. The correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* visited eleven peasants lying in the primitive hospital in Lviv, their flesh beaten to a pulp, and obtained photographs of their injuries, the Poles promptly making every effort to find and destroy the plates and prints. Here is a situation which is quite as fit subject for attention by the League as the disfranchisement of Germans in the Polish elections.

The New Republic, December 17, 1930.

## 6.

When glaring accounts of organized raids by Polish soldiers in East Galicia were printed in the American press, the *Western World* rubbed its eyes with incredulity. Could Poland, with the memory of her own century of dismemberment and suppression still fresh, herself place knouts in the hands of soldiers and send them throughout a captive province to beat an innocent peasantry into submission?

. . . Alleged acts of incendiarism provided the semblance of a justification for sending a "punitive expedition" into East Galicia; it began by arresting Jewish and Ukrainian leaders. Most of the Ukrainian Deputies in the previous Parliament were among those imprisoned. Two months before the election in November, 1930, the military force divided Galicia into sections and proceeded systematically across the country. Within a few weeks more than 2,000 peasant leaders were arrested. . . .

Genuine autonomy, with some responsibility to Warsaw, might have been acceptable a year ago, but today nothing less than complete independence will satisfy the Galicians. There is now in Galicia a new and rapidly growing party—the Ukrainian Nationalist party, type of Fascist political organization opposed to any foreign rule in any part of the Ukraine. This is in addition to the Ukrain-

ian parties which are still functioning—the Ukrainian National Democratic party, a liberal, progressive organization supported by the intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie and the richer peasants; and the Ukrainian Peasant party, supported largely by the smaller peasants. The numerical strength of the Communist party is negligible. . . .

Milton Wright: *The Reign of Terror in the Ukraine.*

Current History (of the New York Times), February, 1931.

*(Another book could be compiled from the quotations of the comments of the world press on the "pacification" of Ukraine.*

*In fact, this was for the first time that the press manifested a lively interest in the sufferings of the Ukrainian people.*

*Many of those comments ran along the same lines. Hence only samples are taken.—Ed.)*

## XXXVI.

### ATROCITIES IN UKRAINE BEFORE THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

#### (A)

#### TWO CONCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

##### 1.

##### EUROPEAN RESPONSIBILITY

The Socialist "Vorwaerts", in a leading article headed "Europe Disgraced", utters a strong warning that the gangs of Nationalists who exist on both side of the German-Polish frontier may come to blows some day and create a "frontier incident. Twenty or forty men could do immense political harm." But Germans, the "Vorwaerts" continues, should not think only of the German minority. The fate of the Ukrainian minority is even more intolerable. A meeting of the League Council has become necessary, continues "Vorwaerts", and if the Council does not do some thing at last, then the protection of the minorities will have been disregarded to a mere farce. It is not Pilsudski who is responsible. "Europe is also responsible, especially the Great Powers, who created Poland as an independent State," and most of all France. . . .

"Vorwaerts" is perhaps not quite just to France. It is known here that the French Government is not unmindful about what has happened in Poland, and that it is not altogether dead to its responsibility. At the same time "Vorwaerts" is no doubt right in so far as very little seems to have been done by France in Geneva to avert calamities like the "pacification" of the Ukraine.

As for England, the German press quotes the reply to a question relating to the Ukrainian atrocities which was asked in the House of Commons on November 20, according to which his Majesty's Government is still awaiting the report of the British Ambassador in Warsaw. The atrocities took place in the first half of October, and more than a month to draw up a report about them seems rather a long time. Events so tragic and calamitous as those that have occurred since the beginning of October justify a certain uneasiness as to whether the British Government is really as well informed as it might be about what goes on in Poland. It is a fact that a high British official did make a tour of Eastern Galicia soon after the atrocities were committed, but whether, like Nelson, he put his telescope to a blind eye, or whether he really believes that there are no wicked people in the world (least of all in Poland), or whether he was merely holidaying and did not wish to bother, he appears to have seen nothing at all, "Vorwaerts" is surely right in appealing to the Labor Government.

One thing is sure. If the Powers had made adequate representations to Warsaw when the so-called pacification of the Ukraine was initiated the atrocities would never have been committed.

The Manchester Guardian, November 25, 1930.

## 2.

### THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POLISH OCCUPATION OF GALICIA

The United Ukrainian Societies of Chicago wrote on November 17, 1930, to President Hoover:

American citizens of Ukrainian descent, assembled at Chicago, Illinois, to commemorate the twelfth anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence, which took place in Lemberg in 1918, do hereby send your Excellency their cordial greetings and best wishes for your Excellency's endeavors to preserve the world's peace by trying to prevent the future wars, and humbly suggest that the best possible means to insure peace and world's tranquility would be to take into a favorable consideration the wishes of those nationalities which, by the decision of the victorious Allied powers,—and among them the United

States of America,—were given over into political and economic slavery of other nations.

To these nationalities in the first place belong the Ukrainians a great number of them, owing to an unjust disposal by the Entente, are now suffering from the oppression in Poland.

Being deprived of the rights guaranteed to them by the international minorities treaties and by the Polish Constitution, which together with the Act of the Polish Parliament of September 26, 1922, provided for an immediate autonomy for Eastern Galicia and for the establishment of a Ukrainian University, the Ukrainians have been driven to despair trying to point out to Poland and the Allied and Associated Powers their respective obligations as signatories to the Treaty signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, and as those who were material in incorporation the territory of Eastern Galicia into Poland against the will of the Ukrainians. The resolute stand of the Ukrainians in defense of their rights to political autonomy has been the cause of terrible oppression on the part of the Polish Government. In the last two months this oppression has developed into a reign of terror.

We, therefore, earnestly request your Excellency to use your kind offices on every possible occasion in behalf of the submerged nationalities, particularly the Ukrainians, who were given over by the Entente to Poland.

We sincerely believe that your Excellency's influence and authority are of very great weight and significance in matters of international conciliation, and remain

Very respectfully,

UNITED UKRAINIAN SOCIETIES OF CHICAGO,

Dr. H. G. Skehar, *Chairman*.

S. Musiychuk, *Secretary*.

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The Department of State, at Washington, replied, on December 2, 1930, as follows:

The receipt is acknowledged, by reference from the White House, of your letter of November 17, 1930, requesting the President to employ his good offices for the amelioration of the condition of the Ukrainian population, and other national minorities, in Poland.

In reply, you are informed that this Government is not in a position to make representations to a foreign Government with respect to conditions which do not directly affect American citizens or interests.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

ROBERT F. KELLEY,

*Chief, Division of Eastern European Affairs.*

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To this the United Ukrainian Societies of Chicago wrote the Department of State, Washington, D. C., on December 11, 1930, as follows:

We are in receipt of the letter of the Department of State dated December 2, 1930, advising us that American Government is not in position to make representations to a foreign government with respect to conditions which do not directly affect American Citizens or interests.

We beg to respectfully call the attention of the State Department that conditions which prevail in Poland do directly affect American Citizens who are the relatives of those whom Polish Government brutally mistreats.

We further wish to respectfully assert that the acts of Polish Government directed against Ukrainian and other minorities in Poland directly affect the United States Government for the following reasons:

1. Under the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan on one hand and Poland on the other, the Government of Poland undertook to grant certain rights and privileges to racial, religious or linguistic minorities. Poland has violated this agreement to which the United States was a party.

2. Council of Ambassadors, in which United States was represented, on March 15, 1923, mandated the East Galicia to Poland on condition that Poland would respect the rights of minorities.

3. Kellogg-Briant Treaty to outlaw war, will become an empty gesture, unless the rights of minorities are safeguarded. Violation of the rights of minorities, of which the latest and most glaring example is the treatment accorded to the Ukrainian minority in Poland is potential and most serious cause for future wars.

We, as American Citizens, call the above matters to the attention of the Department of State, because in our opinion the United States is directly interested in the rights of minorities by virtue of the obligations assumed by the three acts aforesaid.

Very respectfully,  
UNITED UKRAINIAN SOCIETIES OF CHICAGO.  
Dr. H. G. Skehar  
N. Moranetz

To this the Department of State replied, on January 2, 1931, as follows:

In reply to your letter of December 15, 1930, you are informed that the Government of the United States has assumed no obligations with respect to the rights of minorities in Poland.

It may be pointed out that the Treaty of Versailles was not ratified by the United States and that consequently this Government is not a party to it.

With reference to your statement with regard to the decision made by the Conference of Ambassadors on March 15, 1923, you are informed that the United States was not a participant in this decision.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:  
ROBERT F. KELLEY,  
*Chief, Division of Eastern European Affairs.*

*(The above is the most complete statement of the American official attitude in this matter. Before this statement was given out, there appeared various fragmentary statements. The American Polish press reported once that a delegation of American Poles intervened with the American Government and received an assurance that the American Government would not intervene in the matter of "pacification", this being an internal affair of Poland. That statement, strangely enough, was hailed from two sides: by the Polish and the Communist press in America.*

*Polish nationalist newspapers in America sneered at Ukrainian protests as futile. Why haven't the Ukrainian-American protestants inquired into the matter before sending their protests to Washington?—wrote the "Polish Everybody's Daily," of Buffalo, New York.*

*In a similar tone wrote the communist press: of what use are those Ukrainian protests? As an inference was made that only the Soviet Union could be relied upon to be an efficient protector of oppressed races, the Ukrainian nationalists retorted in their press and meetings, by denouncing the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Government at Kharkiv, which would have filed a strong protest against the "pacification" if it were a Ukrainian Government in reality, as it claims to be.*

*In view of this attitude of the American Government, the duty to see the Minorities Treaties carried out devolves upon these Powers which have assumed clearly defined obligations—with respect to the Minorities in Poland and which are undoubtedly parties to the Polish Treaties.*

*The American citizens of Ukrainian descent have not yet given up hopes that the American public opinion and the American Government might be aroused to the importance of making a strong representation with the Polish Government.—Ed.)*

### 3.

#### GERMAN-POLISH CRISIS

#### SERIOUS RESENTMENT IN GERMANY

#### NAZI STRENGTH

#### LOSS OF FAITH IN LEAGUE AND DEMOCRACY

The Government rests on foundations that are less secure than they were, even immediately after the general election. Yesterday's elections in Bremen, Bielefeld, and Euten show that the

Nazis are still on the increase. The Communists and Socialists have lost, while the bourgeois parties have had very heavy losses.

Extreme nationalism has been inflamed by events across the Polish frontier. The recent excesses in Upper Silesia have had a disastrous effect. About their terrible character there can no longer be any doubt, and they so far exceed any German excesses or reprisals as to be in quite another category. And yet the utmost that can be expected by way of redress is that the Polish representative may have rather an awkward time when the League Council deals with the matter in January. That is all, and even in the opinion of the most moderate Germans, it is not enough.

Not since the invasion of the Ruhr has the impotence of Germany been so acutely felt. Nor is there any obvious prospect of an improvement. On the contrary, the awful nightmare of the Ukraine has shown to what lengths the oppression of minorities and the helplessness of the League can go. What has happened to the German minority is bad enough, but if it were to suffer anything at all like the "pacification" of the Ukraine no one can tell with any certainty what the effect on German public opinion would be.

The failure of disarmament has deepened the darkness of a dark situation. There is good reason to believe that the Nazi flood, which began to ebb after the general election, is rising higher and higher. The Government is as though on an island that grows smaller and smaller as the waves encroach. It is not so much that the Nazis themselves are formidable, but it is the unreason, the violence, the confusion, the loss of faith in treaties, in the League, in disarmament, in justice (whether national or international), in democratic institutions, that are menacing German civilization itself. Yesterday's elections are a very ominous symptom, and yet what else could be expected?

The Manchester Guardian, Tuesday, December 2, 1930.

*(The above facts point out one of the ways in which a disappointment of a people in the utter victory of justice disturbs the peaceful relations among the peoples and nations, — an eloquent, practical argument for the broader conception of the responsibilities of the governments for intolerance and oppression even in foreign lands.—Ed.)*

## (B)

*AN UNCHAMPIONED MINORITY TO APPEAL TO THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*

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## 1.

## POLAND'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Article 93 of the Versailles Treaty, referring to Poland, reads:

"Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religions."

On this basis, the Allied Powers negotiated Minority Treaties with Poland (as well as with each of the new states). "These Treaties provide full and complete protection of life and liberty of all inhabitants; they guarantee religious freedom; define who constitute the nationals of the country and grant the right to opt for another nationality within certain limits of time; they assure equality before the law, the right of races to use their native languages; and they provide for educational facilities."

Article 12 of the Polish Minority Treaty reads:

"Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, as far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the consent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

"Poland agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances."\*

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\* See: FRANCES KELLOR AND ANTONIA HATVANY: SECURITY AGAINST WAR, p. 71 ff.



## 2.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE GERMAN MINORITY IN POLAND.

The report of the German Consul at Kattowitz on Polish excesses in Upper Silesia has now caused the Government to decide upon representations to the League Council in accordance with article 72 of the German-Polish Agreement, which is identical with article 12 of the Minorities Treaty. According to the Polish papers proceedings have been taken against those responsible for the outrages. About a dozen arrests have been made, and about 3,500 zlotys have been earmarked as compensation for the victims.

## LEAGUE OFFICIAL "APPALLED"

A Reuter message from Warsaw reports that prompt action has been taken in connection with the incident that occurred at Brzezine (Hohenbirken), in the district of Rubnik, just before the election in the Silesian Senate, when persons belonging to the German minority were roughly handled by the crowd. The voivode of the district has suspended the Mayor and the local schoolmaster, and disciplinary action will be taken against them. The chief of police has been transferred to another district. A special grant of 3,500 zlotys has been made to the citizens of Brzezine of German descent who suffered as a result of the incident.

This action follows on an investigation undertaken by the Swiss President, M. Calonder, of the Mixed Commission, who acts as a representative of the League on minority affairs in Upper Silesia. M. Calonder, according to the Kattowitz correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung," went personally to Hohenbirken, the scene of the outrages, with M. Morawski, the Polish representative on the Mixed Commission. He was appalled by what he saw. The presence of a permanent representative of the League in Upper Silesia is due to the special arrangements made when that territory was partitioned between Poland and Germany. There is, of course, no similar official in Eastern Galicia, the Polish Ukraine.

The Manchester Guardian, Wednesday, November 26, 1930.

## GERMAN PROTEST TO THE LEAGUE

The German Government has now made a formal protest to the League of Nations. The text of its note to the League Secretariat, with a detailed account of the Polish excesses in Upper Silesia, are to be published on Friday.

The leading article in yesterday's "Manchester Guardian" is quoted with approval in this morning's Berlin papers. The suggestion that the British Government should call the attention of the League Council to the persecution of minorities is welcomed here, for it is natural that Germany cannot be disinterested, as England is; besides, while the excesses committed in Upper Silesia are terrible enough, those committed in the Ukraine are far worse. They would surely not have been passed over without a word (they would more likely have produced some very emphatic or sonorous words) in the days of Palmerston or Gladstone. It would, indeed, be tragic if minorities were better protected before than after the existence of the League of Nations and of Labour Governments.

The Manchester Guardian, Thursday, November 27, 1930.

### 3.

#### EAST GALICIA AND THE LEAGUE

The next session of the League Council at Geneva, which will consider the position of the minorities, will be exceptionally interesting. It is certain that appeals will be made to the League of Nations with regard to both Upper Silesia and Eastern Galicia. As you have already stated, the German Government is making a formal protest to the League against the Polish excesses in Upper Silesia.

I understand that an extraordinary session of the Council is not demanded to deal with the question, but that the Germans will wait until January. It is certain that the Ukrainian minority in Poland will send a petition to the League. In the normal course such a complaint would be submitted to the Polish Government for their observations, and then the petition, with the observations, circulated to the members of the League. In specially urgent cases this procedure can be speeded up, and it is probable that this is what will happen in this case.

The Manchester Guardian, Friday, November 28, 1930.

## 4.

## COMPLAINTS AGAINST PILSUDSKI

By Edwin L. James

LONDON, Nov. 28.—It looks as though Marshal Pilsudski, who now has a Parliament all his own, will be asked to do some explaining about the Polish treatment of minorities in Polish Ukraina and Polish Silesia. . . .

It would seem to be established that in certain cases the Ukrainians and perhaps the Silesians as well have not been very polite to the Poles. There have been such things as cut telegraph wires, torn up railroad tracks and some arson. The Poles have chosen a heroic way to deal with the matter, but now the question will arise whether they have been too cruel.

The other day in Warsaw I mentioned these charges to a distinguished Pole, who answered the Poles had never done anything in Polish Ukraina to match the water cure the Americans used in the Philippines. That is probably what Marshal Pilsudski would like to use on foreign investigators if they come along.

The New York Times, November 30, 1930.

## 5.

## A GLOOMY PROSPECT

The problems of disarmament and minority rights are now ripe for settlement. They cannot be postponed much longer. The Preparatory Disarmament Commission has at last finished its work. The Draft Convention, feeble as it is, will have to be the subject matter of a plenary Conference, probably next year. There is no further excuse for delay. If in January the League Council, which has to fix the time of this Conference, does not fix an early date, Europe will know that the Powers have no real intention of disarming. The problem of the minorities has also become suddenly acute. The "pacification" of the Polish Ukraine and the conduct of the Upper Silesian election have opened the eyes of Europe to the treatment of minorities in Poland. Germany is bringing this before the Council in January. If nothing is done then it will be known that the Minorities Treaties are a dead letter, that they cannot be enforced. The problem can no longer be shelved. The next Council meeting—one of the most momentous in the history of the League—must return some sort of an answer to the German complaint, and it depends very largely on the action

or inaction of Great Britain what that answer will be. Nothing can be expected of France, who is tied to her allies just as Germany before the war was tied to Austria-Hungary. Between Germany and France there is no serious direct cause of friction, nor would there be between Germany and Poland if the League guarantees were effective. But in practice Poland is not amenable to reason because she can always fall back on the French alliance, not least in the League council chamber. And as long as Poland is fortified by French support, so long will German Chauvinism flourish and Franco-German relations be on edge. Franco-German tension prevents disarmament and thus embitters German opinion, which crystallises in Nazi or Stahlhelm militarism. It is a vicious circle which it is almost impossible to break. The one hope lies in bold English leadership. But it is not a good hope.

The Manchester Guardian, Tuesday, December 9, 1930.

## 6.

### POLISH BRUTALITY CHARGE REPEATED UKRAINIANS ALL OVER WORLD PROTEST TO COUNCIL

By Albin E. Johnson

GENEVA, Dec. 13—The German Government's second official appeal to the League of Nations in behalf of the German minority in upper Silesia was received yesterday and its text will be published simultaneously in Geneva and Berlin on Sunday. Hardly a day passes but what the League minority section receives appeals from Ukrainian organizations from all parts of the world as well as from within Poland.

An American doctor, who interrupted his tour of Poland voluntarily to succor Ukrainians suffering from maltreatment by Polish troops, after being expelled, came personally to Geneva and recounted his experiences to League officials. His testimony deeply impressed minority section officials.

Another serious element entering into the Ukrainian situation is the attitude of Russia, Foreign Commissar Litvinoff having revealed while in Geneva, that Moscow was watching developments both in Ukraine and in Bessarabia. Conditions among the Ukrainians especially arouse sympathy among League official circles because these people have no defenders, as have the German Poles.

The World, December, 14, 1930.



## 7.

## A POLISH MINORITY'S PROTEST

(From our own Correspondent.)

Berlin, Monday.

According to the "East Express," the Polish Minority in Czecho-Slovakia has lodged a complaint at Prague because the Poles of Teschen were registered not as Poles but as Silesians in the recent census. If the complaint remains without a hearing, then the Polish minority, according to the "East Express" will appeal to the League of Nations.

The Manchester Guardian, Tuesday, December 16, 1930.

*(The attitude of the Polish minority is significant when compared to the Polish indignation expressed at every occasion when a Ukrainian protest to the League of Nations is mentioned.)*

*On April 16, 1931, the New York Times reported from Warsaw that "the already heavy agenda for the May sessions of the Council of the League of Nations is likely to be burdened with another problem, that of the acute tension between Poland and the Free City of Danzig. The League's High Commissioner for Danzig, Count Grawina, arrived to Warsaw this morning to hear the government's complaints of maltreatment of Poles in the Free City and the reported hostility to Poland of Danzig's Government."*

*It is evidently no treason on the part of a Pole in Czechoslovakia or Germany to present his grievances to the League of Nations, but such a grievance on the part of a Ukrainian subject of Poland is a high treason of Poland.—Ed.)*

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(C)

BRITISH ADVANCED PUBLIC OPINION AROUSED TO THE  
SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF RACIAL  
MINORITIES IN POLAND.

## 1.

## (a)

## EASTERN GALICIA.

*Questions to Foreign Secretary.*

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy is putting the following questions in the House of Commons to the Foreign Secretary to-day:—

(1) Whether there are any British consular representatives in Eastern Galicia; whether he has had any reports from these

representatives on matters affecting British commerce in this region, and what is the nature of these reports.

(2) Whether the condition of the inhabitants in Eastern Galicia has been, or is to be, considered by the Minorities Committee of the League of Nations, and whether his Majesty's Government is taking any action.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday, November 26, 1930).

(b)

### *POLISH ACTION AGAINST MINORITIES.*

*Report from British Ambassador.*

#### COMMONS STATEMENT BY MR. HENDERSON.

In the House of Commons yesterday, Commander KEN-WORTHY (Lab.—Hull) asked the Foreign Secretary whether the condition of the inhabitants in Eastern Galicia had been, or was to be, considered by the Minorities Committee of the League of Nations; and whether the British Government was taking, or had taken, any action in the matter.

Mr. HENDERSON: I have no information that a petition from the Ukrainian minority in Eastern Galicia has been received by the Secretariat General of the League of Nations, but I am making inquiries at Geneva. It is, of course, the duty of the representative of his Majesty's Government on the Council of the League to examine with due care any petition which may come before that body.

Mr. MALONE: (Lab.—Northampton) asked Mr. Henderson whether he had yet received a report from the British Ambassador at Warsaw concerning the treatment of the Ukrainian minority by the Polish authorities; what was the nature of the report; and whether it was intended to take any action.

Mr. HENDERSON: Yes, I have just received a report from the Ambassador at Warsaw containing a summary of recent events in Eastern Galicia. This report is now being studied.

Mr. MALONE further asked Mr. Henderson whether he had any information concerning the detention of Dr. William Dey, a British-Canadian subject on October 21 by the Polish authorities at Lemberg; what was the reason for the detention; and whether he was aware that Dr. Dey was refused permission to communicate with British Consul, Mr. Taylor.

Mr. HENDERSON: Yes. The circumstances of this case have been reported to me, and I have instructed our Ambassador at Warsaw to make appropriate representations to the Polish Government.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Thursday, November 27, 1930).

## 2.

### THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES TREATY FAILURES

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—It was some cause for satisfaction to all those who are interested in the problem of minorities that this question received such considerable attention during the last Assembly of the League of Nations, but a great deal more must be done. Mr. C. Roden Buxton, speaking as the representative of the British Government on the Sixth Commission, said that “this question was one of very grave importance, indeed, one of the most important questions in Europe.” I had hoped that he would put forward some constructive proposal for solving this problem, as, for example, the setting up of a Permanent Minorities Commission. The establishment of such a Commission was supported by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald last year, and no fewer than 68 members of the British House of Commons signed a statement to the Prime Minister in July, 1930, supporting this proposal. Even if the British Government was not prepared to initiate this proposal in the Sixth Commission, it is very disappointing to find that the Government did not support it when it was advocated by another Power.

There is no doubt that the minority treaties have failed in the great majority of cases. The League of Nations is the only existing machinery through which the minorities can obtain redress for their grievances, but there are serious defects in this machinery; and Great Britain, as a disinterested but as a responsible Power, could most suitably take the lead in suggesting a remedy. Amongst these defects the following are the most serious:—

1. Minorities have no opportunity of hearing their Government's reply, a practice which, to quote Count Apponyi, “reduces the procedure to a farce” and makes it impossible to get an impartial presentment of both sides of the case.

2. There is no permanent body which can receive and adjudicate upon petitions.

3. There is insufficient publicity.

4. The absence of a Permanent Minorities Commission unprejudiced by political considerations gives opportunities to the Secretariat of the League of Nations to give preferential treatment to the Governments, as in the scandalous case of the Polish Government and the Ochmann petition.

The very least action that I had hoped the Assembly would undertake was an inquiry into the existing working of the minorities machinery to see whether the reforms adopted at Madrid are proving effectual. The delays are abnormal. At every stopping place in the passage of a petition from a minority to Geneva there is obstruction and blocking.

As is well known, the League of Nations is supposed to take action under the minorities treaties when its attention is called to any infraction of the treaties, or a danger of infraction. In practice the Council moves, if at all, only on receipt of a petition. Petitions are first examined by the Minorities Section of the League Secretariat, the sole object being to see that the petition conforms to the five conditions of receivability.

It is here that the first delay or block occurs. Minorities must not expect to hear by return of post! I have before me a typical example of a petition submitted in January, 1929, which received no reply until March, 1930, and then only after I had drawn attention to it in the British House of Commons. This is surely an absolutely inexcusable delay, as all the Secretariat has to do at this juncture is to say whether the petition conforms to five simple conditions. If the petition is receivable, the Secretary General forwards it to the Government concerned, which must state within three weeks whether it wishes to make any comments. If so, it is allowed two months to make them. The petition, together with these comments, is then referred to a committee of three members of the Council. The committee of three may decide either to let the matter drop, or to negotiate informally with the Government concerned, or to refer it to the Council. It will then come up before the Council at one of the meetings held three times a year as one item in an agenda covering a wide range of international affairs. What happens next? It may be adjourned for one or two meetings; the Council may decide to take no action, to attempt "friendly representations," or to "take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances." Questions of law or fact can be referred to



the Permanent Court of International Justice. All this may take years.

In Silesia there is, under the German-Polish Convention of May 15, 1922, a detailed procedure which, although intended to facilitate the handling of these matters, in fact often provides more obstructions. In defiance of the weak-kneed policy of the Assembly, an unparalleled persecution of minorities has broken out. In Poland it is particularly bad under the regime of Pilsudski. At Graudenz, by the disqualification of minority lists, the minorities have been disfranchised from the recent elections. At Posen the minority newspaper "Posner Tageblatt" has been suppressed. At Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) extraordinary charges have been trumped up against minority candidates.

In the Ukraine the Ukrainian minority has suffered punitive expeditions from Polish so-called patriots. These are facts which explain the decrease in the number of Ukrainians who have been returned to the Polish Sejm.

In Jugo-Slavia the Dictatorship continues unabated, and a ruthless and brutal attempt to assimilate the Macedonian minority continues to be made.

There is also the trouble of the Hungarian minorities, 800,000 of whom are in Czecho-Slovakia and 1,750,000 in Rumania.

Surely the catalogue of actual happenings ought to be enough to bring the League of Nations to a sense of reality. In face of all that has happened the League of Nations can no longer allege that minority questions are working smoothly and that "only time is required" for everything to become tranquil and satisfactory. I trust that the League of Nations will rise to a sense of its responsibilities. But in the meantime those of us who follow these questions must lose no opportunity to throw the searchlight of publicity on minority problems, which are fraught with such danger to the peace of the world, in the hope that the public sense of justice will bring pressure to bear to alleviate the lot of these unfortunate peoples. In this respect the "Manchester Guardian" is rendering yeoman service.—Yours, &c.

Cecil L'Estrange Malone.

House of Commons, December 10.

The Manchester Guardian, Monday, December 15, 1930.

## 3.

## THE POLISH ATROCITIES

In consequence of the publicity given recently in the "Manchester Guardian" to the Polish atrocities, the committee of the Eccles branch of the League of Nations Union has passed a resolution deploring these atrocities, and urging the Government, through the League, to take action to remedy this breach of the Minorities Treaty.

*(This is an example of the manner in which the public opinion becomes effective in remedying the wrong of which it has become conscious.*

*The action of the League of Nations Union could have suggested a similar resolution to the League of Nations Association in America, but there is no evidence to show that anything in the matter was said at the last national convention of the Association which was held in Chicago, January 22, 23 and 24, 1931.—Ed.)*

## 4.

## THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND.

*M. P.s' Petition to League.*

## MR. HENDERSON ASKED TO TAKE ACTION.

Nearly sixty Labour and two Liberal M. P.s have signed a petition which they ask Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General, to lay before the League of Nations on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, alleging infractions, and the threat of further infractions, of the treaty signed between Poland and the Associated and Allied Powers on June 29, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They ask that the League Council should call a committee to consider the position and for an impartial inquiry into the facts.

With the petition the signatories sign a statement on the Polish elections and the Ukrainian minorities in Poland, to be presented to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson. This registers a protest against "the undemocratic methods employed by the Polish Government in the recent elections, both for the Polish Sejm and for the Silesian Diet. Whilst admitting that the elections are an internal matter, we are asking you to use your influence through diplomatic and other channels in the direction of democratic Government and an immediate release of political prisoners."

The statement asks Mr. Henderson to raise the question of the treatment of the Ukrainian minorities before and during the elections with the League of Nations, and "with regard to the terrorism which is reported to have taken place on the German-Polish Frontier" requests him to ask both parties to refer their differences to a conciliation Commission allowed by the Locarno Treaties.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday, December 17, 1930).

The petition of the Members of the British Parliament says:

*PETITION ON BEHALF OF THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY  
IN POLAND.*

*To Sir Eric Drummond,  
Secretary-General  
of the League of Nations,  
Geneva.*

Sir:—

We, the undersigned members of the British Parliament beg you to lay before the Council of the League of Nations the following petition regarding infractions, and a serious threat of further infractions of the Treaty signed between Poland and the Associated and Allied Powers on June 29th, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

In view of the urgency of the situation, we suggest that a Committee of Three be called immediately in accordance with the Third Resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations at the 51st Session, to consider the substance of this petition.

Further, we urge you to ask for an impartial enquiry into the facts.

*RECENT EVENTS:*

With special reference to the recent outbreak in Eastern Galicia, we recognise the right and necessity of the Polish Government to maintain order within its frontiers, but we would draw attention to the fact that, according to evidence which seems to us unimpeachable, punitive expeditions have been sent into at least 700 villages, against a majority of which no terroristic or unconstitutional action has been alleged; that hundreds of men, women, and children have been flogged, some of the floggings being so severe that the victims were prostrate for weeks afterwards; some of them were ruined for life, and some of them were killed; thousands of people have been imprisoned; and that many libraries, clubs, and co-operative stores have been sacked and destroyed. The 14th Cavalry Regiment, in particular,

seems to have been turned loose in the villages, flogging peasants indiscriminately.

These actions against the Ukrainian Minorities appear to constitute a violation of Article I, which lays down that 'Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.' Evidence of these actions could be submitted, if necessary, in the form of a supplementary petition.

#### *CITIZENSHIP:*

During the recent elections, Ukrainians were terrorised not to attempt to vote. In Lwow (Lemberg) it has been stated that practically all the Ukrainians have been deprived of their vote, as they were told to bring documents, including birth certificates and identity papers, to a special Commission to prove that they were citizens. That Commission worked one hour a day for three days to deal with 18,000 people, so that hardly anybody succeeded in registering their claim. In many cases they were unable to produce documents of any kind, owing to the devastation caused by the war.

This action appears to constitute a violation of article 7, which lays down that "All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law, and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion."

#### *EDUCATION:*

In 1920 there were 3,662 Ukrainian schools in the Ukraine. On December 1st, 1925, according to official statistics of the Minister of Education, there were 1,055 State Schools and 19 private schools. This means that between 1920 and 1925 the Ukrainians lost 2,607 Ukrainian Schools.

The total elementary schools in the Ukraine on December 1st, 1925, was 28,336; of this 22,996 (84%) were purely Polish; 2,257 (8.3%) were bi-lingual and 2,083 (7.6%) had other languages. In 1927—28 there existed only 771 Ukrainian schools. Out of 1,000 Ukrainian schools 71 children attend Ukrainian schools, and 329 attend Polish or bi-lingual schools.

These and many other available facts appear to constitute a violation of Article 8 which lays down: "In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense... schools and other educational establishments with the right to use their own language..."



*COLONISATION:*

It has been stated that 200,000 hectares of arable land in Eastern Galicia, and the same area in Volhynia and Polesia have been distributed to Polish Colonists. As the local Ukrainian peasantry has seldom more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hectares, rural over-population being admittedly a very serious problem in these areas, this Colonisation of Poles is certainly inequitable. There are in existence 3,000 Agricultural Associations in the Ukrainian district, and whilst Polish Agricultural Associations received 79,000,000 zloty this year, as subsidy from the Polish Government, the Ukrainian Societies received nothing at all.

These things appear to constitute violation of that provision in article 8 of the Treaty signed by Poland which lays down that "Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals."

We trust that this petition on behalf of the Ukrainian Minority in Poland will receive the full consideration of the League of Nations which is the legal guardian of Minorities, and the only existing machinery for the carrying out of Minority Treaties.

*S I G N E D:*

John Arnott	P. C. Hoffman
Walter Ayles	Jack Mills
James Barr	Ralph Morley
G. Benson	H. B. Morgan
J. W. Bowen	G. Muff
A. Fenner Brockway	H. T. Muggeridge
C. Brown	G. H. Oliver
A. G. Cameron	W. Paling
William Carter	M. Phillips Price
G. Dagger	Ben Riley
Rhys Davies	F. F. Riley
F. W. Lindley	Daniel Hopkin
Fred Longden	J. F. Horrabin
Gordon Macdonald	J. H. Hudson
Cecil Malone	F. Llewellyn-Jones
S. Markham	J. M. Kenworthy
S. March	J. Kinley
James Marley	Arthur Law
F. Marshall	Will Lawther
Geo. Mathers	Jennie Lee

James Maxton  
 Charles Dundan  
 Robert Forgan  
 Peter Freeman  
 A. G. Gossling  
 Duncan Graham  
 H. Graham-White  
 D. R. Grenfell  
 T. Griffiths  
 Somerville Hastings  
 W. Hlrst

Wm. Lewis  
 Arthur Shepherd  
 Bennie Smith  
 J. Toole  
 James Welsh  
 Wiltred Wellock  
 Wilfred Whiteley  
 Ellen Wilkinson  
 R. S. Young  
 W. G. Cove  
 W. J. Brown  
 A. W. Haycock

*STATEMENT ON THE POLISH ELECTIONS AND  
 THE UKRAINIAN MINORITIES IN POLAND,*

*presented to the Foreign Secretary Mr. Arthur Henderson M. P.,  
 says:*

We, Members of the British House of Commons register our protest against the undemocratic methods employed by the Polish Government in the recent elections, both for the Polish Sejm and for the Silesian Diet. The arrest of Socialist and other Opposition M. P.s have made the elections a farce, and have given the Government a false majority which will enable it to revise the Constitution in such a way that the people are deprived of their rights and a regime of dictatorship is made possible. Such a military dictatorship may force any political Opposition to resort to methods of terrorism.

Whilst admitting that the elections are an internal matter, we are asking you to use your influence through diplomatic and other channels in the direction of democratic Government and an immediate release of political prisoners.

With regard to the treatment of the Ukrainian Minorities before and during the elections; this is a matter in which the British Government has a direct responsibility by virtue of its signature to the Minorities Treaties. The atrocities committed by the Polish against the Ukrainian Minorities is a direct violation of these Treaties, and we call upon you to honour your signature by raising this question with the League of Nations as allowed for by Article 12 of the Minorities Treaties. Further, we ask you to pay attention to and support any responsible petition on behalf of the Ukrainian Minorities.

With regard to the terrorism which is reported to have taken place on the German-Polish Frontier; this is again a matter of direct interest to the British Government which is a signatory to the Minorities Treaties guaranteeing the rights of the German Minority. We ask you to consider how far this trouble is due to the failure of relevant Minority Treaties and whether, if it is a matter of a Minority, to consider and support any German petition, and whether if it is a wider political question to remember that it concerns this country by virtue of our signature to the Locarno Treaties. We request you to ask both parties to refer their differences to a conciliation Commission allowed by the Locarno Treaties.

We make this demand believing that the causes of Minorities and Democracy are of deep concern to the peace of the world.

5.

*EASTERN GALICIA.*

Two separate accusations of misgovernment made against the Polish Government by important national minorities will come before the League Council in January. The complaints of the German minority are sure of investigation since the German Government has made itself their spokesman. No such certainty exists in the case of the Ukrainian minority, numbering several millions, who live in Eastern Galicia. And yet, as the new evidence we publish this morning from Miss Mary Sheepshanks shows, the treatment of them has been far more brutal. The Women's International League sent two representatives to investigate on the spot the conduct of the Polish Government, which had been charged with letting a rough soldiery loose on the countryside to terrorise the inhabitants irrespective of their varying political opinions or possible implication in cases of rickburning and the like. The report which Miss Sheepshanks and her fellow-investigator have brought back fully confirms the account of these outrages already published in the "Manchester Guardian." It is clear that things have been done in Eastern Galicia which ought profoundly to trouble the conscience of Europe. England, as a party to the Polish Minority Treaty, is under a direct obligation to see that the rights which that treaty guaranteed are respected in practice. There is perhaps a tendency to sit back comfortably and fancy that the League's machinery functions automatically. This is quite untrue. Those minority petitions which are in

due order are examined by a Committee of Three, whose function may be compared to that of a police court magistrate in deciding whether there is a case for trial. But there the matter rest unless some member of the Council cares to incur the odium of bringing the petition before the whole Council. Only the full Council can give redress, and the Council cannot move unless its attention is drawn to the matter by one of its members. In the case of the German minority the German Government has come forward to secure a fuller and more satisfactory hearing than the secret, interim investigation of the Committee of Three. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, have as yet no such friend at court, although the facts already known are sufficient to make it plain that their wrongs deserve the fullest possible inquiry. Will not the British Government stand sponsor for them at Geneva? Such action would not commit us to the view that all their complaints were necessarily justified but merely to the opinion that they ought to be investigated.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Monday, December 29, 1930).

## 6.

### THE CONSCIENCE OF EUROPE

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—In your vigorous leading article of December 29 on Eastern Galicia, you refer to “the conscience of Europe” as something which is actually living and operative. I take it that, just as appeal is made to the British conscience when outrages occur within our commonwealth, so you would regard the League of Nations, with its Unions in various countries, as evidence of a common mind, of a corporate conscience to which appeal can be made. May I be permitted to dissent?

During the last two years I have passed some time in France and Germany, and I cannot recall any events that bear witness to such a state of mind; no one seriously regards “Geneva” as capable of redressing wrong. I know that statements of this kind are unpopular; so unwelcome, indeed, that you may not think it worth while to let them find expression in your columns.

The French people, after their desperate struggle for four years, leave their politicians to continue the fight; can it be held that they care more for the state of Europe than, say, the citizens of Cork or Galway? The Germans, indeed, take a tragic interest in affairs at Geneva, for they laid down their arms in response to our offer of world peace and disarmament; but few people antici-



pate that the twelfth year after the war will bring us nearer to our fulfillment of these obligations; we only pay with the theme in endless debate.

You rightly point out that we share responsibility for the sufferings now being endured by Ukrainians and Germans in lands which we handed over to Poland, but how do we discharge our responsibility? Have we sent any warning to the Polish Government of the consequences which may befall if these iniquities are proved? Apparently Mr. Henderson hopes that certain "petitions" and "observations" will be examined, not by our Foreign Office, but by League of Nations Committees and the like. Is this the spirit in which a mighty nation, which intervened so terribly in the affairs of Europe because the Belgian Treaty was broken, now handles the results of our own handiwork?

In other words, we seem to escape all individual responsibility for what happens in Europe because we belong to the Geneva organization; and yet we, with America and France, created this Poland! We created this New Europe, in which dictators snap their fingers at treaties without any fear of reprisals. For that same treaty (Versailles) which established a League of Nations to regenerate the world disarmed those who might to-day have protected the victims of these atrocities. Is it not better to drop any appeal to sentiments of conscience or world hope and address ourselves to the realities of to-day in Central Europe? How long do we expect the peoples of those countries to remain humble suppliants for the favours of the Anglo-Saxon race? After all, Germany is a great nation, with a fine tradition of endurance and valour; she now stands on the edge of starvation, and next year threatens to be one of undiluted misery. How much longer must Samson, shorn of his strength, make sport for the Philistines? I for one believe that, unless our Government find time, amid all its other preoccupations, to do justice in Europe, we shall share the miseries and sufferings of our Continental neighbours. August, 1914, came upon us in our sleep, like a thunderclap; and we said "Never again"; but we slumber once more. We break the Treaty of Versailles every day; can we be surprised if our former enemies in despair imitate our example?—Yours, &c.,

J. J. Findlay.

Nearcloughside, Hyde, Dec. 30.

The Manchester Guardian, Friday, January 2, 1931.

*("The responsibility for the plight of minorities rests squarely upon the Allied Powers who drafted and insisted upon treaties for their protection and who now will not undertake enforcement*

*of these treaties. That provision of the Minority Treaty which confers compulsory jurisdiction upon the Court on behalf of minorities is unavailing without intervention by them or by some member of the Council. The minorities situation in Eastern Galicia is one to rise up and confound the peacemakers when it is least expected, because justice has been considered an unessential part of the settlement of that question."*

FRANCES KELLOR & ANTONIA HATVANY: *SECURITY AGAINST WAR*. New York, 1924. *The MacMillan Company*).

## 7.

### UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND PETITIONS TO THE LEAGUE

On December 13, 1930, the Union of Democratic Control presented a statement to Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Foreign Secretary, over the signatures of 65 M.P.'s, who asked him to raise the question of the Ukrainian minority in Poland at the next meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in January. Mr. Henderson replied that several petitions on this subject had been presented to the League, and that he hoped that they, together with the observations of the Polish Government, would be dealt with at the Council meeting.

The Union of Democratic Control has now sent another letter to Mr. Henderson over the same signatures, in which they say:—"The procedure of the League of Nations allows the Polish Government two months in which to reply to such petitions, and the observations which undoubtedly it will wish to make may not be received in time for the matter to be dealt with at the forthcoming session of the Council in January. For this reason we ask you to call the attention of the Council of the League of Nations to the petition by requesting that it be put on the agenda. This is the only method by which there can be any certainty of discussion at the Council meeting."

The Manchester Guardian, Friday, January 9, 1931.

## 8.

### UKRAINIANS UNITE IN FIGHT AGAINST POLES REPRESENTATIONS MADE TO PREMIER BENNETT

Ukrainian protests against alleged infractions of the rights of their minority in Poland have swept round the world following recent punitive expeditions made by the Poles into Ukrainian

villages, and Canada, with 300,000 Ukrainians, has taken up the cry.

Wasyl Swystun, president of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, and Jan Rudyk, of Saskatoon, waited on Mr. Bennett and presented a petition of protest which the Premier promised to make the subject of representations to the League of Nations and expressed also the hope that the petition would be heard by the League Council during the May session.

The Ukrainian allegation is that individual acts of violence by Ukrainians were met with Polish punitive expeditions which took strong action against Ukrainian populations as a whole, despite the fact that the original violences had been officially condemned by Ukrainia.

"The Montreal Daily Star", Sat., March 21, 1930.

(D)

*THE ALLIED POWERS CARRY OUT THE TREATIES ON  
PROTECTION OF RACIAL MINORITIES.*

1.

**BRITAIN AND POLISH OPPRESSION.**

*Not Sufficient Ground for Action.*

In the House of Commons yesterday, Mr. BARR (Lab. — Motherwell) asked the Foreign Secretary if he had considered a statement, signed by 52 members of Parliament, asking him whether he would use his influence towards the release of political prisoners in Poland and whether he would raise the question of the Ukrainian minorities in Poland as a member of the Council of the League of Nations; and could he say whether he would take any action on the lines of the statement?

Mr. HENDERSON: I have received a copy of the statement referred to, and have given it my careful consideration. I cannot undertake to make any general representations to the Polish Government in favour of the release of political prisoners, since I have not sufficient ground for such intervention in the internal affairs of another country. As regards the Ukrainian minority, I understand that petitions have been presented in due form to the Secretary General of the League, and these, with the observations of the Polish Government, will be carefully examined. I trust that these observations will be received in time for the matter to be dealt with during the next session of the Council of the League in January.

(*Manchester Guardian*, Thursday, December 18, 1931).

## 2.

## FRENCH ATTITUDE.

PARIS. — In its foreign leader today the "Temps" makes an attack of quite exceptional virulence on the German Government for its action in regard to the treatment of German minorities in Poland. German policy in this matter, the "Temps" says, is a grave danger to peace, no less dangerous than the policy aiming at treaty revision and general disarmament. The three campaigns complete one another, and proceed from the same spirit and the same doctrine... The real aim of Germany, the "Temps" declares, is to stir up the minorities to revolt against the Polish state, to strengthen to the utmost extent the "Deutschtum" basis of all German power in Europe and the world, and to try by making difficulties for the the States bordering on Germany to bring them to consider a revision of the treaties. Germany, says the "Temps," is trying to falsify the nature and the purpose of the treaties for the protection of minorities by giving them the character of guarantees against the sovereignty of certain States whose sovereignty, in spite of those treaties, remains intact, and who cannot tolerate any foreign interference in their internal affairs.

The attitude of the British representative at the session of the League Council in January will show whether, as is universally believed here and elsewhere on the Continent, British support of French policy at the Preparatory Disarmament Commission was merely a manifestation of a general policy of supporting French domination on the Continent.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, December 27, 1930).

PARIS. — The "Temps" returns to-day in another leader to the protest of the German Government against the treatment of the German minorities in Poland... Several other papers continue to publish anti-German articles, and it is clear that the press is being mobilised to back M. Briand in support of the Polish Government at Geneva next month.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, December 27, 1930).



## 3.

## BRITAIN WARNS POLES ON ISSUE OF MINORITIES.

*League Gets Petitions Protesting Treatment of Ukrainians.  
By John Gunther.*

GENEVA, Switzerland, Jan. 23. — The British ambassador to Warsaw has just communicated a strong warning to the Polish government against further "pacifications" of minorities in the Ukraine, it is said here.

At the same time eight different petitions on behalf of Ukrainians protesting alleged Polish atrocities have been declared "acceptable" by the League of Nations secretariat. Four come from a former foreign minister of Ukraine, one from Ukrainian deputies in the Polish parliament, one from Ukrainian emigres in France, one from a Ukrainian committee in Prague and one from sixty-one British members of parliament.

*Many Protests from United States.*

Meantime the secretariat has received between 300 and 400 telegrams and letters of protest from various persons and organizations in the United States.

The petitions having been accepted, they are now being forwarded to the Polish government, which within two months must send the league its reply. This means that the Ukrainian question is fairly sure to have a place on the agenda of the next league council meeting, in May, with consequent further embarrassment to the Poles.

The Ukraine outrages were much more violent than those in Silesia, which Germany is now adducing before the council. Ukraine, however, is not a great power like Germany and the Poles may have an easier time avoiding a rebuke.

*(Chicago Daily News, Friday, January 23, 1931).*

(E)

*POLAND'S RACIAL MINORITIES HAVE A DAY IN THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*

## 1.

## MINORITIES IN POLAND

## THE GERMAN CASE

(From our Special Correspondent)

Geneva, Wednesday.

The two sittings of the Council to-day—from 10:30 to 1 p.m. and from half-past three to half-past five—have been entirely taken up by a verbal duel on the question of the German minorities in Polish Silesia and the Polish Corridor between Dr. Curtius and M. Zaleski. It was a duel in which the adversaries never came to close quarters, and hardly came into contact. Dr. Curtius attacked vigorously, but as he advanced to meet M. Zaleski the latter retreated. There was a second round in which Dr. Curtius renewed the attack, and M. Zaleski again retreated, and then the Council adjourned until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning, when the debate will be continued.

## “FORCIBLE POLONIZATION”

Dr. Curtius insisted on the responsibility of the Polish authorities for what had occurred, and held that it was part of a general policy of forcible Polonization. He made a great point of the part played by the Upper Silesian Union of Ex-servicemen, a semi-military organization with 40,000 members subsidised by the State. In 1928 the Polish Government had informed the League that this organization dealt with humanitarian and cultural questions, but that statement was hardly reconcilable with the facts. On December 20 last the members of this organization had been instructed to return their arms to the authorities. The organization had taken the lead in the “campaign against Germanism” which preceded the elections. In regard to the electoral methods, Dr. Curtius insisted strongly on the campaign against secret voting, which he declared to be a method of intimidation.

Speaking of the excuse that the German minorities had been no worse treated than other minorities in Poland or even the Polish Opposition, Dr. Curtius said that if what had been published in

the press of the world about the Polish treatment of the Ukrainian minorities was true the Council must also occupy itself with that matter. At the same time the German minority in Silesia had special rights under the Geneva Convention.

The Manchester Guardian, Thursday, January 22, 1931.

## 2.

### LEAGUE PROBLEMS

The present session of the League Council, which may come to an end this evening, has been particularly important. It had to deal with two very controversial questions—disarmament and the treatment of minorities in Poland. In both it has achieved useful work. The Ukrainian minority, who were exposed to a brutal “pacification” last autumn, are, it appears, to have their complaints investigated by an unusually strong Committee of Three. In two months’ time representatives of Italy, Norway, and Great Britain are to meet in London to discuss this petition and report to the next session of the Council. This indication of the League’s real interest in the problem of minorities may do something to brighten the prospects for the Disarmament Conference, which the Council has decided to call together early next year. The main difficulty with which that Conference is likely to be faced is the opposition of France and Germany. Such an opposition, by convincing each party of the bad intentions of the other, would effectively prevent any useful work being done by the full Conference. Is it possible to avoid it? The mainspring of the German criticism has been a general disbelief in the sincerity of the League. The failure to protect the minorities and the failure to disarm were arguments which together convinced perhaps a majority of Germans that the League did not mean business. This scepticism bred a certain truculence, which was reflected in a corresponding stiffening of the French attitude. Unless this vicious circle can be broken the prospects of the Disarmament Conference will be bad; but the prompt decision of the Council to investigate the complaints of the Ukrainian peasantry provides a faint prospect of escape. If its decision in the Silesian case is as wise, Germany will have less cause to doubt the League’s good intentions on the question of the minorities. But if the League turns out not to be as bad as it was painted in this matter, more Germans may even come to think that the League is working for disarmament, as well.

The Manchester Guardian, Saturday, January 24, 1931.

## 3.

UKRAINIAN PETITIONS BEFORE THE LEAGUE  
OF NATIONS.

Geneva, Jan. 23.—It is reported that the Council of the League of Nations has decided to take cognizance of eight Ukrainian minority petitions alleging serious outrages by Poles during recent elections.

The New York Times, January 24, 1931.

THE LEAGUE COUNCIL DISPOSES OF THE UKRAINIAN  
PETITIONS

I understand that the petitions from the Ukrainian minorities in Poland . . . will be considered by a committee of three, consisting of Mr. Henderson, Mr. Mowinckel (Norway), and Signor Pi-lotti (Italy), who will meet in London in March. It is believed that Mr. Henderson is determined that the matter be thoroughly dealt with. After the proceedings at the Committee of Three it will come up before the Council at May session.

The Manchester Guardian, January 24, 1931.

*(The indirect, hearsay and fragmentary method of reporting is due to the fact that the decision was made in private.*

*(The indirect, hearsay and fragmentary method of reporting the protection of Minorities started from the principle of the protection of minorities. A petition of an aggrieved minority was at once referred to the committee composed of the President of the Council and two members appointed by him, who considered the petition or communication, the inquiry being held as soon as the petition or the communication had been brought to the notice of the Members of the Council.*

*This procedure was considerably modified by the Council of the League, on October 25, 1920, and September 5, 1923, upon the suggestion of Czechoslovakia and Poland, for the alleged purpose of protecting the prestige of new states against unjust accusations by minorities. The Council adopted a new set of rules of procedure in case of an infraction of rights of a minority. According to them, petitions, not coming from member states, were not to be sent to the members of the League, but only to the state concerned. The powers of the special Committee of Examination were restricted; the circulation of documents was restricted to members of the Council.*



*"The protection of minorities is thus no longer the concern of the whole League, but becomes a secret service for the Council. The only way information can reach the Assembly is through a special resolution passed by the Council or upon the request of the state complained against."\**

*The purpose of this secrecy is plain. "Czechslovakia, Poland and Roumania, three of the chief beneficiaries under the Peace Treaties, led this reaction, which deprives minorities of any EFFECTIVE method of appealing to the Council and of recourse to that moral and public opinion upon which the League so vastly relies. For, in effect, these restrictive regularions have shut off publicity on the subject of minorities."\*—Ed.)*

## 4.

LEAGUE MINORITIES DECISION  
CONVENTION VIOLATED IN UPPER SILESIA  
POLISH GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY

(From our Special Correspondent)

Geneva, Sunday.

Yesterday, when the sixty-second session of the Council of the League of Nations came to an end, it was a great day in the history of the League. Mr. Henderson had reason to say, as he did in his speech, that the decision of the Council in the matter of the German minorities in Polish Upper Silesia, Posen, and Pomerania was "an achievement of which we had every reason to be proud."

The importance of the decision was greater than that of the matter to which it referred, for it created a precedent and may well prove, as Mr. Henderson declared his belief that it would, to be the beginning of a new effort on the part of the League, in regard to the protection of minorities, a matter in which it has hitherto so conspicuously failed. Moreover, this is the first time that the Council has really tackled a very difficult question and unanimously arrived at a definite decision on it. It is a happy augury for the future.

For this happy result we have to thank, in particular, Mr. Yoshishawa, the Japanese representative on the Council, who was entrusted with the report of the matter, and who, by his skill and

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\*) See FRANCES KELLOR & ANTONIA HATVANY: *SECURITY AGAINST WAR*, p. 77 ff.

tact, succeeded in getting an agreement between the German and Polish delegates, and also Mr. Henderson, who from the first has never swerved from the determination that something effective must be done. The matter came up nearly at the end of the session. In his report, unanimously adopted by the Council, Mr. Yoshishawa said that the evidence showed that there had been violations of articles 75 and 83 of the Geneva Convention in numerous cases. As regards the electoral irregularities, such as the suppression of list-less candidates and the removal of names from the electoral registers, the existence of which, in some cases, was admitted by the Polish Government, the report said that, as there had been an appeal to the Polish courts about these matters, for the moment the Council need only take note of the information that had been given it, without going more fully into the matter. The German Association in Upper Silesia had reserved the right to appeal to the Council at a future session if the decisions of the Polish courts were unsatisfactory.

#### PUNISHMENT AND COMPENSATION

Mr. Yoshishawa accepted the German point of view that the Polish local authorities were directly, and the Polish Government indirectly, responsible for the acts of violence against members of the minorities. The report noted the measures taken by the Polish Government against officials and others compromised, and called on the Polish Government to supply the Council before its session in May with a complete and detailed report setting forth the results of the inquiries in the different cases, as well as the punishments inflicted and the compensations awarded for damage to persons and property.

As regards the indirect responsibility of the Polish Government, the report insisted on the necessity of avoiding anything that could directly or indirectly stir up passions, and said that this involved, on the part of the authorities, a particularly heavy responsibility and an obligation scrupulously to respect the rights of the minorities. Above all, the authorities must not be suspected of taking part in political strife against the minorities. The documents submitted to the Council, the report said, led to the impression that the organization of Silesian ex-servicemen was inspired by a spirit certainly not calculated to facilitate reconciliation between the two elements in the population. In regions with a mixed population, such as Upper Silesia, no association with marked nationalist tendencies ought to have a privileged position of a nature to impair the rights of the minorities. The report, there-

fore, declared that the Polish Government should take the necessary measures to get rid of the special connection between the authorities and associations of such a kind, and that it was indispensable that the German minorities should be given a feeling of confidence which seemed, unhappily, to have been profoundly shaken. The report concluded by saying that the Council desired to know before its next session what decisions the Polish Government had taken in this regard.

#### POLAND'S OBLIGATIONS

Of course the decision of the Council will be really effective only if the Polish Government fulfils the obligations it has undertaken by accepting this report, but it may safely be said that, if the Council is not satisfied on this point in May, the Polish Government will hear of it. After what happened yesterday, the Poles know that they can no longer count on French support in all possible circumstances. Undoubtedly the wide publicity given to the Polish atrocities in Eastern Galicia had had a most salutary effect both on the opinion of the world and on the attitude of the Polish Government in the matter of Upper Silesia.

It is quite evident that, for the first time, the Polish Government is seriously alarmed. After the adoption of the report, Mr. Henderson said it was an achievement of which they had every reason to be proud. Both public opinion and Parliamentary opinion in Great Britain had taken great interest in this question, and would be most satisfied by the result. But he was speaking less as a representative of Great Britain than as President of the Council. He was happy that the system contemplated by the minorities treaties and by the Upper Silesian Convention was now so firmly upheld by the Council. That system was part of the public law of Europe and of the world. It was recognized when the peace treaties were made that the loyal operation of the minorities treaties was vital to the maintenance of peace. The questions concerning their application were not national questions; they were international questions, League of Nations questions, in which all of them had a common duty and a common interest. Were that system to fail, or were confidence in it to be undermined, it would lead to results that could not be foreseen.

Mr. Henderson said he appealed to the majority in Upper Silesia to recognize that it was not in their true interest to suppress the rights of the minorities, and to the minorities to recognize that it was in their true interest to work loyally with the Government under which they lived. In conclusion, Mr. Henderson said, "I hope, and after what has happened today, I believe,

that this decision of the Council will mark the beginning of a new and peaceful effort to give permanent and successful shape to the system which the minorities treaties of 1919 and the Upper Silesian Convention of 1923 were intended to set up."

This speech, the importance of which need hardly be insisted on, made a very great impression on all who heard it, and caused intense satisfaction to all the representatives of the minorities. Many people found in the last passage a hint of the desirability of a permanent Minorities Committee.

The Manchester Guardian, January 26, 1930.

### 5.

#### POLAND IS REBUKED BY LEAGUE COUNCIL.

By Clarence K. Streit.

Geneva, Jan. 24.—The sixty-second session of the Council of the League of Nations ended tonight after a meeting marked by a strong rebuke to Poland it has made in years . . .

The report emphasized that Poland must restore the confidence of the German minority in Upper Silesia and said the Council should consider at the next session what steps Warsaw had taken to assure this.

#### NO OBJECTIONS FROM POLAND.

All this was adopted by the Council, Poland accepting without a murmur, but it is understood only after a strong private pressure from Mr. Henderson and M. Briand, who pointed out that if she did not the Ukrainians' petitions were liable to put her in a worse position.

The New York Times, January 25, 1931.

*(The report is significant: the petitions of the Ukrainian minority, though admittedly citing much more serious violations of the minority treaties than those contained in the German petitions, are not used for the purpose of examining the Ukrainian grievances, but merely to force the Polish representatives to accept the rebuke of the League Council without objection.)*

*In view of this inferred admission of the seriousness of the Ukrainian grievances, it will now be interesting for the public opinion of the world to watch what will happen with those Ukrainian petitions in the League.—Ed.)*



## 6.

## THE LEAGUE COUNCIL'S DECISION EVALUATED.

BRITISH COMMENT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF LEAGUE  
COUNCIL'S ACTION.

## (a)

## JUSTICE FOR SILESIA

Last Saturday was a great day in the history of the League Council. For a variety of reasons the German minority of Upper Silesia has come to be a test case of the League's intentions in the matter of the various national minorities committed to its care. There is resident in Upper Silesia a permanent neutral League Commissioner, an advantage which no other minority enjoys. If the League cannot protect the Germans of Upper Silesia it is not likely to be more successful elsewhere. That is why so much importance attached to the complaints of unfair treatment which were before the Council this session. These were not ordinary petitions in respect of isolated cases of injustice, but an accusation of general, systematic treaty-breaking by the Polish Government. Additional importance was given to the question because the complaints were brought not by the members of the minority itself but by the German Government. The Council has found that "incidents have occurred of a sufficient gravity and extent to justify the conclusion that the Minorities Convention has been infringed by Poland in numerous cases." This finding of fact is followed by a severe admonition to the Polish Government to mend its ways and to report to the next Council meeting the measures it has taken to do so. Thus the Council, which by a long course of secrecy and apparent timidity had almost forfeited the confidence of the minorities, has at last proved that it is a force to be reckoned with. The effects of this decision will not stop at Upper Silesia. It will give fresh hope to many other oppressed minorities, which, despairing of their treaty rights, had begun to think that only force could serve them. As Mr. Henderson said on Saturday, "the very loyal observance of these treaties is essential for the maintenance of peace." The Polish Government has recently attempted to throw discredit upon the "Manchester Guardian's" account of events in Silesia. We are the more glad, therefore, to note that its representative has now apparently accepted this adverse report.

The Manchester Guardian, Monday, January 26, 1931.

## LEAGUE'S ACTION ON MINORITIES

BERLIN.—It is of real importance that Polish violations of the rights of the German minority in Upper Silesia should have been established by a tribunal that is certainly not biased for Germany against Poland. These violations are established indubitably and in the eyes of all the world. Not even the press bureau of the Polish Embassy in London can do away with this fact.

If the wrongs of the Ukrainian minority in Poland are heard with the same impartiality as those of the German minority it will be an event of great moral importance that can hardly fail to have at least some practical effect.

The Manchester Guardian, January 27, 1931.

## (b)

## POLISH IMPRESSIONS.

## THE FIRST IMPRESSION—DISTRUST IN THE REPORT

Berlin, January 26, 1931.—The correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt" writes from Geneva under the same date (January 25, 1931,—ed.) as follows:

" . . . The achievements of the German delegation go far beyond the motions which the Volksbund presented in its petition to the League of Nations . . . The result is considered generally in Geneva as a success of Germany and a satisfaction for the violation of the rights of minorities . . . "

It is difficult to distinguish how much there is in this of sincere satisfaction and how much of demagoguery, destined for internal German consumption.

"Kurjer Warszawski," one of the early editions of January 26, 1931.

"WHAT HAPPENED IN GENEVA, AND HOW IT  
HAPPENED?"

Under such a title, in one of its later editions of the same date, the "Kurjer Warszawski" enumerate the following facts as Polish defeats:

1) the admission by Mr. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, that there were certain excesses during the elections in Silesia;

2) the renunciation of all the connection between the Polish Government and the "Zwiazek Powstancow" (the Union of Insurgents);

3) that the Foreign Minister failed to convince the League of Nations of the private character of the "Zwiazek Powstancow", hence the League wishes to dissolve the connection between the governmental authorities and the societies which carry on political activities, such as are carried on by "Zwiazek Powstancow";

4) the order of the League of Nations to present before the May session a report as to the results obtained by the investigation of each concrete incident as well as to what punishments or remunerations were applied in each case;

5) that Poland was read a lesson that the considerations of peace and of internal consolidation require that she should avoid all those activities that might, directly or indirectly, contribute to arouse passions;

6) that Poland has been read a lesson that she must win over the German minority;

7) that Mr. Henderson read Poland a lecture that the Upper-Silesian affair and similar matters of racial minorities are not only internal affairs of the State, but also international questions which concern all and which must be settled according to justice;

"This is the general balance sheet:"—the "Kurjer Warszawski" says "It is to the credit of Germany . . . Zaleski lost the game . . . Could he have won? We greatly doubt it . . . He had before him an unusually difficult situation out of which he could not extricate himself by means of sheer dialectics."

*(The "Kurjer Warszawski" does not say why Mr. Zaleski could not win by mere dialectics. But it has hinted at the reason in the statement that the League Council wants to have an investigation of each CONCRETE INCIDENT: as long as Polish representatives are allowed to give blank denials and to shoot general, unspecified charges, they can easily save themselves, but when it comes to proving concrete charges, then they are sunk even in their own courts.—Ed.)*

"Our duty it will be now to order the conditions in Silesia in such a manner that Germany be deprived of all the pretexts for interventions, and at the same time the racial conflicts be reduced to minimum."

The "Czas", Cracow, (quoted by the "Kurjer Warszawski", Jan. 30, 1931.)

(c)

*To the Editor of the Public Ledger:*

Sir—I was highly amused on reading Mr. Polaski's letter March 1, in which he explains the "heavenly bliss" Poland bestowed upon Ukrainians, after they were handed over to Poland in 1919, although they were sympathizing with Austria. I admit frankly that Ukrainians would give up half of their personal fortunes to be under Austrian rule rather than in the Polish inferno. In Austria there was at least an idea of justice.

If in relating Ukrainian charges I failed to inspire belief, I would like to refer the readers to a historical article, "The Reign of Terror in the Ukraine," by Milton Wright, in the *Current History* for February, 1931, or to a speech of a Polish patriot, Senator Kluszyńska, before the Sejm, February 3, published in a Polish paper, *Ameryka-Echo*, on March 1.

There is no use any more to deny brutalities against minorities or breach of minorities' treaties, after the League of Nations pronounced Poland guilty and confirmed the charges in toto. But, although the Polish Minister Zaleski accepted the reprimand and promised to change the attitude, the Poles in their persistent stubbornness defy the authority of the League and do not even show any signs of picking a more civilized road for making life bearable to the nations incorporated in the Polish Republic. The Polish hatred for the minorities, which compose 30 per cent of the total population, is plainly shown in an editorial in a Polish newspaper published in Kattowitz, *Polska Zachodnia*, a personal organ of Mr. Graczyński, Governor of Upper Silesia. We read in *Polska Zachodnia* exactly this:

"Only idiots or low-born persons could demand that Polish pioneers in Upper Silesia should be frightened by appeals to the League of Nations into abandonment of their activities. Poland not only cannot dispense with men like Graczyński and insurgents, but must also strongly support every other form of this particular work.

"The idea of protection of minorities becomes more hated in Poland, and Polish interests will not be sacrificed for the sake of the approval of the League of Nations. We shall outlive the Geneva Court and different other tribunals and also the perfidious misuse of the Geneva conventions (fixing the status of minorities), which expire in a few years."



Finally, speaking of the big percentage of Poles on Ukrainian soil, yes, there are imported *en masse* for the government machinery ex-soldiers as colonists, fully armed, and famous insurgents to terrorize the population, etc., but the question is whether they should be there.

Dr. Paul Dubas.

Philadelphia, March 9, 1931.

(*Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1931).

(The above letter is reprinted for its quotation of the "*Polska Zachodnia*" as the comment of this Polish pro-government organ raises the question whether the member-states of the League of Nations are bound to respect the decisions of the League. This question at once suggests other questions: How could the League of Nations enforce its will against a state unwilling to abide by the League's decisions? Is every state to be left free to decide by itself if it wants to carry out the League's decision?)

Various observers of the League have maintained that the League has proved its authority against small or defeated nations. Will she now prove itself equally competent against Poland?—Ed.)

(F)

## THE LEAGUE REJECTS THE BEST UKRAINIAN PETITION.

### THE COMMITTEE OF THREE.

The report (accompanying the Ukrainian motion in the Polish Sejm) deserves the most careful consideration of the Committee of Three appointed (thanks largely to the noble and memorable efforts of Mr. Henderson) to investigate the grievances of the Ukrainian minority. Whether any Ukrainian will be invited to give evidence before the Committee (which is meeting in London) is not yet known, but it would seem highly desirable that witnesses should be called from both sides.

In view of the fact that persistent attempts have been made to discredit my messages on the tragic fate of the minorities in Poland as well as of the Polish Opposition by declaring them to be of German origin or to have been drawn up under German influence or instigation, I feel it necessary to point out that almost all my information and all my evidence is drawn directly from Poland, without any German instigation or influence and without passing through any German medium.

(*The Manchester Guardian*, Friday, January 30, 1931).

*IMPORTANT DOCUMENT REJECTED.*

## CAUSES OF MISGIVING.

*(From our own Correspondent.)*

Berlin, Thursday.

Amongst the Ukrainian petitions submitted to the League there was one drafted and signed by Mme. Milena Rudnicka, who is well known in the International Women's Movement as a person of high intelligence, integrity, and heroism. Amongst very many petitions sent in to the League since the "pacification" (as the Polish excesses committed in the Ukraine last October are officially termed) hers is one of the few that have been carefully and intelligently drafted. It also included the most comprehensive record that has yet been made of the "pacification." I have referred to this report in a previous message — it is a document of about eighty pages of typescript, and is of fundamental importance (it was included in the interpellation made by the Ukrainian members of the Polish Parliament). Indeed, to disregard this document would be a grave if not a fatal omission in any inquiry into the subject.

I now learn that the League Secretariat has formally declined to regard Mme. Rudnicka's petition as "receivable." So far six Ukrainian petitions have been declared "receivable." One of these six is a flimsy document by a Ukrainian resident in Paris. There is good reason to believe that some, at least, of the others are also badly drafted, and feebly provided with documentary evidence.

It is possible that the report embodied in Mme. Rudnicka's petition is embodied in one or more of the other petitions also, in which case it is too early to say that this report will not be dealt with by the League. But the fate of Mme. Rudnicka's petition is bound to raise grave doubts as to the way petitions are treated by the Secretariat. The number of Ukrainian petitions sent in within the last few months grows into hundreds, to pick out a few of inferior quality that can easily be pulled to pieces by those astute people who are anxious that nothing may come of any Ukrainian petition would not be particularly high-minded. To say that this has actually happened would be premature.

*League Conditions Fulfilled.*

Why Mme. Rudnicka's petition has been rejected is not stated. It certainly conforms to at least four out of the five conditions that were laid down by a resolution of the League Council in September, 1923—(1) that its purpose is the protection of the minorities in conformity with the treaties; (2) that it is not put in the form of a demand for a rupture of political ties between the minority in question and the State of which that minority is a part; (3) that it does not emanate from an anonymous or doubtful source; (4) that it contains matter which has not been the subject of previous petitions; (5) that it is drawn up without violence of language.

None of these five points has been left unfulfilled in Mme. Rudnicka's petition with the possible exception of the fourth. If a previous petition that has been declared "receivable" includes the eighty-page report then little harm will have been done. But if not, then Mme. Rudnicka's petition will have conformed to the fourth point also, for the report is new material. In that case the rejection of Mme. Rudnicka's petition would be a great wrong.

*(The Manchester Guardian, Friday, March 6, 1934).*

*(Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany, in their SECURITY AGAINST WAR, call the attention to the fact that the Council's resolution of September 5, 1923, leaves the Secretariat absolute power to interpret what is to be considered "an anonymous and unauthenticated source"; it seems as if it were also within the absolute discretion of the Secretariat to dictate what facts may be contained in a petition, and if a complaint should be considered as one containing information or referring to facts which have been recently the subject of a petition submitted to the ordinary procedure. This decision of September 5, 1923, together with other decisions of the Council, — F. Kellor and A. Hatvany say, — "have eliminated forty-four Members of the League from knowledge or protectical consideration of the plight of the people to whom they have undertaken to guarantee protection; and they have made it practically impossible for a petition to be considered except on the terms of the state containing the minority and impossible for a minority to receive a public hearing except with the consent of the state complained against or through their compatriots in new countries.—Ed.)*

## SECRECY AT GENEVA: SECRETARIAT'S RIGID PUNCTLIO.

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*FATE OF PETITIONS: A RECENT DOCUMENT ON UKRAINE.*

GENEVA. — With regard to the Ukrainian petition sent by Mme. Milena Rudnicka, referred to by your Berlin correspondent last week, it is admitted here that the petition has been rejected as "not receivable." On the other hand, the reason for its rejection is that it contains matter which has been the subject of previous petitions. It is stated that the petition refers to events which were dealt with by the petition of senators and deputies, of which Mme. Rudnicka was herself a signatory. A memorandum exists showing the full reason why this petition cannot be accepted, but I have not been allowed to see it, and I am informed that even the information which I am able to give (which I can, however, guarantee personally) cannot be officially confirmed.

It really appears that part of the mischief which has permitted, on the one hand, unconscionable delays and, on the other, a great deal of criticism with regard to the way in which petitions are dealt with arises from this very system of timidity and secrecy. The rule is that no petition can be regarded as anything but private information for the benefit of the Secretariat unless and until it has actually been referred to the Council for consideration. There appears to be little reason for this rule except that if it did not exist the decision of the Secretariat in rejecting a petition might be challenged and intelligently discussed in public.

The Secretariat may be satisfied with its diligence in carrying out this rule, for it is much harder to get information about minority petitions at any stage at Geneva than almost anywhere else, and it invariably occurs that it is only possible to initiate inquiries here when one has previously obtained information from an outside source, as, for example, from the messages of your Berlin correspondent.

*Secret Diplomacy.*

The days of secret diplomacy are not past. Even the Secretariat of the League of Nations is not allowed to practise that openness and frankness which, we used to be told, would help to prevent a recurrence of the disasters of the past. And



it is precisely in that department of the League's work, the protection of minorities, where suspicion and distrust are naturally greatest that secrecy is most carefully observed. A very good example of this reticence is to be found in the petitions submitted to the League about the treatment of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. Last week our Berlin correspondent reported that a petition from a Mme. Rudnicka had been rejected by the Secretariat, but that the reason was unknown. This morning we publish a message from our Geneva correspondent, who states that it was rejected because it dealt with points already covered by other recent petitions. But even this assurance cannot be given officially, although there is every reason to believe that it is the correct explanation. Such is the secrecy of Geneva that it is "much harder to get information about minority petitions "at any stage at Geneva than almost anywhere else, and it invariably occurs that it is only possible to initiate inquiries here "when one has previously obtained information from another "source." This exaggerated fear of publicity is not the fault of the Secretariat. Like other civil servants, they work under orders, in this case the orders of the League Council. One cannot blame the officers of the Minority Section, but the effect of their silence is deplorable. Once a petition has been sent to Geneva it disappears as far as the petitioners are concerned. Since petitions are not published, there is no check possible on the statement that the facts contained in one petition are already covered in another. One would have thought that if the petition was ill-founded its publication, together with a reasoned statement of rejection, could harm no one except the misguided petitioners; while if the petition is justified its publication ought to be in the public interest. This secrecy, however, is continued all through the long-drawn-out procedure of dealing with a petition which has been accepted. Small wonder, then, if the minorities sometimes feel that the League exists to bury petitions, not to hear them.

*(The Manchester Guardian, March 11, 1931).*

(G)

*POLAND'S NEW EFFORTS TO KILL OTHER UKRAINIAN PETITIONS.*

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RECONCILIATION EFFORTS BROKEN OFF  
HIGH POLISH DEMAND

For some time past the Polish Government has been exploring the possibility of a "reconciliation" with the Ukrainians or, more especially, with the Ukrainian Nationalist party, the so-called Undo. The "pacification" of the Ukraine left an undying hatred and memories that will surely pass down through generations. It had the effect of an atrocious and destructive war; a sense not only of outrage but also of defeat was felt by at least some of the Ukrainian leaders. Several of these leaders were terribly beaten in prison. Many Ukrainians are still in prison, and although the "pacification" ceased long ago the Ukraine is still under a terror. The head of the Undo, Dr. Lewitzky, is still in prison.

Amongst the more Radical Ukrainians there was intense resentment at the very thought of reconciliation with Warsaw. Nevertheless, it seemed to the more influential members of the Undo that some sort of understanding with Warsaw was necessary because of the hopelessness of an unaided struggle against the Polish army, the police, and the terrorist "defensive." So conversations began. According to the "East Express" the Ukrainians demanded damages for the "pacification," the reopening of the Ukrainian schools, and the release of imprisoned leaders. The Poles, according to the "East Express," have demanded a declaration of loyalty and a withdrawal of Ukrainian petitions to the League. The latter demand would seem incredible, but it is confirmed by the "Dzien Bydgoski," a Polish pro-government paper, which states that in order to make further negotiations possible the Poles demanded that the Ukrainian "club" (that is to say, the Ukrainian Parliamentary party that conducted the negotiations on the part of the Undo as a whole) should use its influence to have all the complaints the Ukrainians have addressed to the world at large, and particularly their petitions to the League, recalled. When these demands were made known to the head office of the Undo in Lemberg negotiations were broken off.

The Manchester Guardian, March 13, 1931.

POLISH ANXIETY FOR WITHDRAWAL OF UKRAINIAN  
APPEALS TO GENEVA

## THE NEW PEACEMAKER

BERLIN.—In a recent message I referred to the negotiations between the Ukrainian leaders and the Polish Government and to the report that one of the conditions laid down by the Poles before there could be any understanding was that the Ukrainians should withdraw their petitions to the League. This report is now confirmed by an article in the "Gazeta Polska," which is the chief Government newspaper in Poland. The author of the article is H. Holowko, a member of the Polish Sejm and vice chairman of the Polish Government "bloc." He was one of the two members who conducted the negotiations on the Polish side.

In the course of his article he refers to the abnormal state of Eastern Galicia, and says that the Government "bloc" was willing to urge reconciliation of the Poles in Eastern Galicia if the Ukrainian "Club"—that is, the Ukrainian members of the Polish Sejm—would urge reconciliation on the Ukrainians. "Had the Ukrainian Club accepted our proposal," he writes, "then as a result of its decision it would have had to withdraw its complaints to the League Council, for one cannot come to an understanding on the one hand, and on the other hand simultaneously conduct suits and complaints on an international forum. . . . I am of opinion that this demand was right and logical."

## SEEKING FRENCH SUPPORT

It is thus quite clear that the Polish Government is very anxious to prevent the petitions of the Ukrainian minority from being heard at Geneva. I learn that the Polish Government has made an effort to win French support in the difficulties that may arise over the hearing of the Ukrainian case, and that the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, will pay some attention to these matters when he visits Paris.

This is partly borne out by the "Baltische Presse," which is published in Dantzic and in the German language. Though not, strictly speaking, a newspaper, but a vehicle for Polish propaganda, the "Baltische Presse" is of considerable informative value because it gives the Polish case in all situations as they arise.

Its frequent "special contributor," a certain "Augur," who is at least as well informed about Polish as about English affairs, writes in a London letter (published in the "Baltische Presse" of March 17) that Mr. Henderson's success in Paris and Rome "seems

to have acted on him like champagne, and he feels called upon to perform new deeds. His ambition, the secret aim of all his thoughts, is to be chairman of that famous Disarmament Congress that will meet at Geneva in the spring of 1932. For this purpose it is necessary that Mr. Henderson's reputation as Europe's great peacemaker shall be consolidated."

He therefore, according to "Augur," attaches great importance to the Briand Committee and to other international European problems as well. "We shall not," so "Augur" continues, "forget that Mr. Henderson is chairman of the Committee of Three appointed by the League Council to examine the complaints of the Ukrainians against the Poles. The Foreign Minister's (M. Zaleski) journey to Paris, where he will take part in the session of the Briand committee, thus achieves a significance it would be a mistake to ignore."

The Manchester Guardian, March 24, 1931.

*(The Polish Government denied that it had started negotiations with the Ukrainians. This statement is significant when compared to the wide publicity given to its willingness to conciliate. It always declares that it is the Government that starts conciliation.*

*The statement of the Polish Government that it was the Ukrainian side which started negotiations was calculated to break the morale of the Ukrainians by suggesting that they considered themselves defeated.*

*The attacks of the Ukrainian radicals against the UNDO. points to the dangers which arise for the negotiating party. The dangers for the government party out of such negotiations are always much smaller, and in the case of a Dictatorship almost none.*

*The demands of each party are significant. In the minds of the Ukrainians the damages of the "pacification" are paramount, in the minds of the Government the investigation of the "pacification" by the League of Nations. The Ukrainians ask for indemnity,—a condition which the Polish Government can fulfil,—the Government demands withdrawal of all the Ukrainian petitions filed with the League, a condition which the UNDO., one of the Ukrainian parties, although it is the strongest, cannot fulfil as many petitioners are outside of the UNDO.*

*The emphasis which the Polish Government and the Polish public opinion place upon the petitions to the League is also significant. They treat the petitions as if filing them were contrary to the duty of loyalty to Poland. It is an effort to make Poland the last tribunal in adjudicating the violations of the rights of Poland's minorities. The Ukrainians naturally would give up the right to appeal abroad only if they could be sure that they would have within Poland a fair hearing.—Ed.)*



## (H)

## THE COMMITTEE OF THREE TO MEET.

## THE UKRAINIAN BRUTALITIES.

London.—The committee of three appointed by the League Council to consider the petitions relating to the recent brutalities in the Ukraine will meet in London on the 16th of this month. Mr. Henderson is to be chairman of the committee, and his two colleagues will be Dr. Mowinckel, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, and a representative still to be appointed of the Italian Government.

I learn that it is very likely that the Italian member of the committee will be the Italian Ambassador in London.

The meeting of the committee has been delayed for various reasons, but it is hoped that at last it will get down to work and permit no more postponement.

The Manchester Guardian, April 9, 1931.

*(The Committee will go to work more than six months after the "pacification" of Western Ukraine was begun.*

*This in itself is an aspect of the problem of serviceability of the League of Nations for the defense of racial minorities.*

*Under such conditions, could an appeal to the League be considered a proper step to put an end to further brutalities? Or to prevent their repetition? Does such manner of procedure insure a proper collection of relevant facts, or does it permit those who might be interested in it, to obliterate the traces of their crimes? If this is a pertinent question in the investigation of the crimes committed by private individuals, how much more pertinent are those questions in the cases in which what is claimed to be illegal was committed by a State government, still holding power over the territory of its crime, and over the population who were the victims?*

*If penal procedures recognize the arrest of the suspected criminal for the purpose of preventing him from fixing witnesses, throwing suspicions in wrong directions, destroying the evidence of his crime, in what manner does the procedure before the League safeguard against similar acts on the part of the accused government? Which government could restrain from exerting all its political power in some undue direction, if not towards killing the investigation, then at least towards sidetracking it? Which government, when accused, would refrain from taking advantage of the inquisitorial manner of investigation prevailing in the matters of racial minorities in the League and from making against the complaining minorities charges, which again will be examined secretly, in the absence of the accused minority?*

*This manner of procedure combines with another circumstance into a grave danger for the Ukrainian minority in Poland. The League of Nations is not only a judge in the matter of the "pacification", but also one of the guilty parties. The League cannot escape the charge that it was the League's inactivity in previous violations of the Minorities Treaties that has led Poland to believe that the Treaties as far as her obligations are concerned are mere scraps of paper. Whoever wrote on the League or on the "pacification" could not escape that impression. The stronger this feeling asserts itself, the greater is the temptation on the part of the League to put all, or the bulk of, the blame for the "pacification" upon the acts of violence committed by those Ukrainian individuals who have come to believe, because of the League's inactivity for ten years, as Poland was violating every international promise she had made, that no other weapon is left to the Ukrainians, but violence. Because of the secrecy of the proceedings before the League in the matters of racial minorities who have no national representation, Poland will have the opportunity to bring this palliative for the League's conscience.*

*The matter is not so much the question of punishing the guilty ones, as a question of constructive policy for international peace.*

*Should the League place its own share of guilt for the Polish "pacification" of Ukraine upon the shoulders of the Ukrainian minority, some section of the public opinion will perhaps breathe a sigh of relief and fall back into the old complacency, out of which she was shocked by the reports of the horrors of the "pacification." But will it be long before the Polish government will shock the world with new horrors? How otherwise will Poland interpret a dismissal of the Ukrainian case than another confirmation of Poland's irresponsibility for the violations of her international obligations?*

*And what other effect can such a decision of the League have upon the Ukrainian minority than the confirmation of the old feeling under which they have been laboring for ten years, that they have found themselves jailed because they want what was proclaimed to be the right of every race? If the lesson be now hammered into them that there is no freedom for them in Poland, and no tribunals for them but their jail-keepers, should we be astonished to see the mind of the entire race grow infected with an all-consuming wish to get out of prison? Should we then be astonished to see some of them explode in desperate crimes, others conspire with anybody who promises for them emancipation from enslavement?*

*To be sure, the League of Nations cannot furnish all the relief that might be expected, as it is not composed of angels, but of human beings. But nothing more is expected of them than acting like decent human beings, and this is, taking for granted that racial minorities are human beings, too, that have the same thoughts and feelings as the members of the League*

*and would act under a provocation just as the members of the League would act.*

*The Ukrainians do not care for the punishment of those who have enacted the horrors of the "pacification." They do care to have the rights which were promised and guaranteed to them. The League may be expected to protect their efforts in this direction. They feel that a great chapter in the history of international relations is being written by the League's decision on the "pacification" of Ukraine. Some at least have not lost hope, in spite of all the hints to the contrary, that the chapter would be just and constructive.—Ed.)*

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## APPENDIX I.

### THE UKRAINIANS UNDER POLAND

#### AREA.

The Ukrainians under Poland inhabit an ethnographic territory which contains 137,135 square kilometers (52,947 square miles), of which Eastern Galicia, previously belonging to Austria comprises 55,300 square kilometers (21,351 square miles) and the Northwestern Ukraine, previously under the Russian Empire, comprises 81,835 square kilometers (31,596 square miles).

This is 35.3% of the entire area under Polish dominion.

#### ETHNOGRAPHIC FRONTIER

The Ukrainian ethnographic territory, according to Prof. Myron Korduba, extends westward in the Carpathian Mountains to the Poprad river. Starting at the town of Pynychna, the ethnographic frontier goes northward cutting for the Ukrainian territory the entire district of Musha and the northeastern corner of the district of Novy Sandets (8 communes). Farther it turns east towards the towns of Hrybiv and Horlytsi; then passing along the towns of Zhmyhorod and Dukla, it reaches the limits of the district of Sianok. Here it turns along the towns of Rymaniv and Zarshyn and reaches the San river below the town of Mryholod, runs along the San to the village of Babych, passes to the other bank of the San, runs along the northern frontier of the district of Peremyshl (Przemysl), turns about the town of Radymno again towards the San. It runs along the San to the town of Lezhaysk, where it turns to the mouth of the Zolota river. It then runs along this river to the sources of the Tanva river, whence it runs north to cross the sources of the Veper and Topornytsya rivers, turns near Krasnostav again to the Veper, runs along the western limit of the old Russian province of Kholm (Chelm) to the Bug river below Melnyk, thence along the Bug to the mouth of the Nurets, along the Nurets north to the Narev river at Surazh, along the Narev north to the forest of Bilavezha, thence towards the sources of the rivers Lichna and Mukhavets, then in a northeastern direction along the Berest-Baranovychi railroad, and farther along the Yasyolda river to the mouth of the Prypet river, and along the Prypet to the eastern frontier of the present Polish republic.

## OLD POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

East of this line lies the Ukrainian territory, inhabited by a compact mass of Ukrainian people; west of it, the Polish ethnographic territory, Poland proper.

Before the world war, the Ukrainian territory now under Polish occupation was controlled partly by the Austrian Empire, partly by Russia. The province of Galicia of the late Austrian Empire was preponderatingly Ukrainian in that section east of the San river, and preponderatingly Polish in the section west of the San. Although the Ukrainian ethnographic territory extends to Western Galicia, where a long stretch of land, in the southern, hilly section, is inhabited by a compact mass of Ukrainians (Lemkivshchyna, the country of the Lemkos tribe), still, roughly speaking, the San came to be considered the ethnographic frontier between the Poles and the Ukrainians, and the term Eastern Galicia has become synonymous with the term Western Ukraine.

Under the Russian control, the Ukrainian territory was included in the provinces of Volhynia, Kholm (Chelm), Lublin and Grodno. The Ukrainians call this section North-Western Ukraine.

Neither the Polish public nor the Polish government were motivated by a desire to represent the actual state of affairs. In their memory stuck the proposals to England to arrange for a 25 years' possession of the country with a subsequent plebiscite.

## POPULATION

According to official Polish statistics, based upon the Polish official census of 1921, there were in that year under Polish control 3,898,428 Ukrainians, which is 15.2% of the total population of Poland.

The official statistics of Poland, however, are proverbially no reliable source of information as to the numerical relations in the population concerned. The Polish government is affected by the tendencies of the governments of the old Austrian and Russian empires to falsify the statistics of the ethnic composition of their peoples. It was an established weapon of oppression of various nationalities to cut down the number of the oppressed races by arbitrarily counting a number of their members as belonging to the dominant race. Poland, becoming a state of succession of Austria, Prussia and Russia, strangely succeeded to all these practices of each of the three oppressors.

Nor were the Poles tyros in this "art". The Poles of the former Austrian empire had, under the Austrian overlordship, held

a sway over the Ukrainians of Galicia, and had under Austria already used their official capacities to swell the number of Poles and to falsify the Austrian census in their own favor by arbitrarily counting many Ukrainians as Poles. In fact, this kind of falsification of the census was looked upon by the Poles as a great service to their own nationality, the greater number of compatriots serving as a base for enhanced claims of Polish leaders.

This attitude was now transferred to reconstructed Poland. The reason for this lies in the fact that Poland has occupied wide stretches of land with non-Polish people. The Polish government undertook to Polonize them, to turn them, by a quick process, into Poles. In this way they saw both a guarantee of their loyalty in the case of war and the basis of their claim to rule over them in the time of peace.

Hence Poland undertook to carry out its first census as soon as her claims to the Western Ukrainian provinces had been recognized by Soviet Russia. The Treaty of Riga was signed on March 18, 1921, and the census was taken on September 30 of the same year. It was taken with the object of justifying before the Western powers her claims to those Ukrainian lands. The Polish government and the entire Polish society were conscious of their object. The Polish press made no secret of the fact that the census was to constitute the foundation for another drive of the Polish government to obtain from the Allies the recognition of Polish claims. This purpose could be served best if the census could show a small number of non-Poles and a great number of people of Polish nationality in the occupied provinces.

The Ukrainians understood the imperialistic purpose behind the Polish census. They refused to participate in the census; they would not lend their aid to the scheme which was to enslave them. Besides, it would be useless to assist Polish census officers who cared little for such assistance, but who saw their first duty in falsifying the census results. Mr. L. Krzywicki, Polish statistician, admits this frankly in his critical examination of the census published in "*Miesięcznik Statystyczny*" (Statistical Monthly), 1922, vol. V., No. 6. There he publicly states that the census met with difficulties in 35 districts, even with opposition. He says that two Polish census commissars met death at the hands of the population enraged by the too forceful census-taking.

That a census thus taken is no reliable source of information is obvious. Doubly unreliable is it as an authentic source of ethnic enumeration and classification of the populace.

The figure of the number of Ukrainians under Poland, given at 3,898,428, stands in a cross discrepancy with the statistics of

the members of the Ukrainian Catholic church (the Uniate church, that is, the Roman Catholic church of the Greek rite) as shown by its directory. The Polish census of 1921 gives the number of Ukrainian Catholics in Galicia as 3,023,000, of which 2,680,000 are said to be Ukrainians by race. That this is a falsified figure is proved by the fact that even the Austrian statistics of 1910 had stated that practically all the Catholics of Greek rite were Ukrainians by race (3,378,000 "Greek-Catholics", 3,207,000 Ukrainians), although at that census, too, Polish officials of the Austrian government had as a rule cut down the number of Ukrainians.

Austrian calculations, falsified by the activities of the Polish administration of the province of Galicia, gave the number of "Greek-Catholics" in Galicia at the beginning of the World War as 3,550,000. This calculation took the census of 1910 as the basis and added an average natural increase of 1.5% per year. If from this number 50,000 are subtracted as an allowance for emigrants, the number of Greek-Catholic Ukrainians at the beginning of the war would amount to 3,500,000 persons.

If the Polish statistics of religions are correct, then the Greek Catholics have lost since 1914, 477,000 and all the natural increment for 7 years, which is an evident impossibility.

Ukrainian statisticians consider the figure 3,480,000 as a very moderate estimate of the number of Ukrainians in Galicia, in 1921.

### THE PROVINCE OF Kholm (CHELM)

In the province of Kholm the Ukrainian ethnic territory comprises an area of 11,610 square kilometers (4,464.62 square miles) including the districts of Tomashiv, Hrubeshiv, Kholm, Volodava, Bila, Konstantyniv, the eastern sections of the district of Zamost and Bilhoray. There the Ukrainians constituted in 1921, 44% of the population, Poles 33%, Jews 15%, others 8%. Before the war the number of Ukrainians was given by Russia as 53%. They now number 277,000 persons.

### PIDLASHE

In Pidlashe, the Ukrainian ethnic territory comprises the districts of Berest, Kobryn, Dorohychyn and the southern sections of the districts of Bila and Pruzhany. It comprises 14,000 square kilometers (5,405.4 square miles). The Ukrainians, according to the Polish census, 1921, number 225,000 or 73% of the population.



## POLISYA

The Ukrainian ethnographic area amounts to 37,642 square kilometers (14,515 square miles), the Ukrainians number, according to the Polish census, 440,000, or 70% of the population.

## VOLHYNIA

Here the Ukrainian ethnic territory comprises 30,228 square kilometers ((11,671 square miles). The Ukrainians numbered, in 1921, 1,050,000, or 73% of the population.

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Taken together, the Ukrainian ethnic territory under Polish occupation amounts to 137,135 square kilometers, or 52,936 square miles. The population of that territory amounted, in 1921, to 7,700,000, of which the Ukrainians numbered 5,500,000 or 70% of the total population of that territory.

To this number ought to be added at least 150,000 Ukrainians who live outside of the Ukrainian ethnic territory thus described and about 50,000 Ukrainians in the Polish army.

Thus the number of Ukrainians in Poland in 1921 amounted to 5,700,000.

If to this number we add about 300,000 persons who had since returned to their homes which they had left during the World War (primarily in the Northwestern Ukrainian provinces) and the natural increment of the population for 8 years (at 1.5% per year, —Volhynia had 1.8%), and subtract about 150,000 emigrants, we obtain the figure 6,550,000 as a minimum number of Ukrainians in Poland (at the beginning of 1930).\*

\*) Compare:

Rocznik Statystyki, 1920/21, 1927, 1928. (In Polish).

Pierwszy powszechny spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 30. wrzesnia 1921. Wojewodstwa: Lwowskie, Tarnopolskie, Stanislawowskie, Wolynskie, Lubelskie. (In Polish).

Skorowidz miejscowosci Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. (In Polish).

Wiadomosci statystyczne, Lwow, 1911. (In Polish).

Prof. I. Shymonovych: Zakhidna Ukrayina: terytoria i naselennya. Lviv, 1921. (In Ukrainian).

Prof. I. Shymonovych: Halychyna, Derzhwydat, 1928. (In Ukrainian).

Prof. Myron Korduba: Ukrayinska natsyonalna terytorya i kilkist Ukrayintsiv v Polshchi, in the almanac of the "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) 1926. (In Ukrainian).

V. Sadovsky: Pivnichno-Zakhidna Ukraina v svitli statystyky, Lviv, 1924. (In Ukrainian).

V. Sadovsky: Ludnist Zakhidno-ukrayinskykh zemel po polskomu perepysu 30. veresnya 1921, Lviv, 1927. (In Ukrainian).

Ing. J. Pavlykovsky: Naselennya Halychyny, Lviv, 1925. (In Ukrainian).

## APPENDIX II.

### THE LAND PROBLEM IN WESTERN UKRAINE

Western Ukraine is predominantly an agricultural country. 86.4% of the population live from agriculture, according to the Polish census of 1921. Land plays the paramount part in the life of the people.

The land area in all the Western Ukrainian provinces under Poland (except the province of Kholm) amounts to 13,420,000 hectares.\* Out of this "land fund" the peasantry owned an 8,231,000 hectares. This was divided into 1,251,000 farms, out of which

558,100 owned up to 2 hectares each;

409,100 owned from 2 to 5 hectares each;

262,100 owned from 5 to 20 hectares each; and

21,700 owned more than 20 hectares each.

The first two groups, that is the farms possessing up to 5 hectares of land, are economically insufficient. A farm that owns less than 5 hectares of land cannot be said to function properly. It is a dwarfed household; it furnishes no decent living to its members. They barely exist, and live constantly under the threat of bankruptcy and proletarianization.

Such households in Western Ukraine number 967,200, out of the total of 1,251,000 peasant households.

Similar conditions existed at various times in most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The landless peasantry there forced upon the governments a solution of the land problem: large landed estates were broken up, and sold among peasantry ("parcellation"). In Russia, large estates were seized, in a revolutionary manner, by the peasantry, without indemnity to the old owners.

Poland seemed to recognize this "land hunger" of the small peasantry: Joseph Pilsudski, opening, in his capacity as the head of the State, the constitutional session of the Polish parliament, on February 2, 1919, declared that the agrarian reform would be introduced in Poland. That meant, of course, breaking up large landed estates and selling them to small "land-hungry" peasant households.

Now the non-peasant land property in Western Ukraine, outside of the province of Kholm, amounted to 5,189,000 hectares and

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\* 1 hectare, 2.47 acres.

was owned thus: by the State 1,038,000 hectares, by the church 155,000 ha., by private land owners 3,996,000 hectares.

Out of this privately owned area 2,126,640 ha. were considered appropriate as "land fund" to satisfy the "land hunger" of the small peasant. Out of this area 551,000 ha. were left for the great landlords (nobility), leaving about 1,600,000 ha. to be parceled out among the peasantry. Out of the publicly owned land, a certain area went to endow churches and schools, leaving for the peasantry about 100,000 ha. About a million "land hungry" peasant households clamored for this ready "land fund" of about 1,700,000 ha.

It is clear that "land hunger" is very acute, and that most careful and fair parcelling out of the land is not sufficient to solve the agricultural problem of these provinces.

When opening the Constitutional Parliament, on February 2, 1919, Joseph Pilsudski, the head of the Polish State, declared that the agrarian reform would be carried out in Poland in the Spirit of the Great Democracies of the West. This was interpreted as meaning guarantees of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness as well as guarantees of equality before the law of every citizen of Poland without respect to his religion, language, or race.

The Sejm, however, when passing the agrarian reform, on July 10, 1919, (by a majority of one vote) made the foundation of the law the principle annunciated by Premier Wincenty Witos, "As far as the plow of the Polish peasant will plow the land to the east, so far will reach Poland's frontiers." Under the Polish peasant he could not understand anybody else but the peasant of Polish race. Thus the principle of equality of races, religions and languages was thrown to the winds. Not the peasantry, substantial and contended, were to be the mainstay of the Polish State, but the Polish peasant keeping the frontiers by his racial consciousness, by the consciousness of the opposition of his interests with those of his neighbors.

It might seem that a momentary change in leadership occurred. That with Witos' downfall it might come back to the attitude of Pilsudski. But this was not the fact. There was no change in the spirit of the Polish Government. In reality, the spirit was always the same and was to remain so in the time to come, and that was the spirit contrary to what Pilsudski called the spirit of the Great Democracies of the West.

Out of the successful war of independence Poland has come out with more than independence: she came out an imperialist power, a nation who has occupied by force of arms a great deal more than what was to belong to her according to the principles

of democracy as announced, for instance, by President Wilson. She had in her possession wide area populated undisputably by the overwhelming majorities of the Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, and Lithuanians. And having gained the control over these wide areas she prepared herself to keep them. Having won the territories against the will of the peoples, she proceeded to keep them against the will of the peoples. Having won them by force of arms, she thought it proper and expedient to keep them by force of arms.

The Polish element in those provinces was very weak numerically. It was mostly nobility, keeping themselves aloof from the mass of the people, the officials of those nobility, and now a thin layer of State officialdom. Poland then proceeded to strengthen them numerically, by introducing from Poland proper men willing to settle on land among the peasantry of non-Polish races.

Such policy has already been practiced many times within human memory, and it brought always high tension between the colonists and the native population, who, naturally enough, looked with horror at the "land fund" passing over into the hands of imported strangers. Nor was such a policy strange to Poland herself. Since her partitions, the Poles had many times protested before the world against the policies of colonization conducted at one time or another by one of the three empires that had partitioned Poland. The last example of mass colonization, against which the Poles protested to the whole world, was the Prussian scheme of colonization of Posen province. The Western Powers were aware of the profound irritation which colonization is likely to produce in the native population, and they went a long way to inveigh against the colonization.\*

That is why the Polish Parliament, when deciding upon the policy of colonization, had to mask it and conceal it. Hence the Parliament, when passing the agrarian reform, refrains from voting a text of agrarian law, but merely authorizes the Cabinet of Ministers to promulgate a decree about the ownership of land, the decree to have the force of a Statute. Such a decree was published on September 1, 1919, and it came into force on September 14, 1919. It did not speak of colonization, although nobody was

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\* "In accordance with the Treaty of Peace with Germany, those Germans who had only settled in Polish provinces during recent years as part of the colonization scheme carried out by the Prussian Government, cannot claim Polish citizenship as a right. No one who knows the history of this matter will be inclined to dispute the justice of this decision."

A HISTORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF PARIS, Edit. by H. W. V. Temperley. VOL. V. THE POLISH MINORITY TREATY, p. 134.



to be allowed to break up large estates without the permission of the authorities, and the Government in practice confirmed only those plans of "parcellation" which provided for the sale of the land in the Ukrainian provinces to the colonists coming outside of the Ukrainian territory. Though Galicia was then only under preliminary control of Poland, this resolution of the same was extended to include Galicia.

The Allies in their authorization of Poland to complete a preliminary occupation of Galicia had explicitly forbidden Poland to colonize Galicia with people brought from outside, yet owing to the negligence of the Allies to insist upon the carrying out of the principle, Galicia became the first and chief territory of Polish colonization. According to the Art. IX. and XVI. of the decision of the Allies about the preliminary occupation of Galicia by Poland, the agrarian problem of Galicia was to be solved only after a due discussion by the East-Galician diet. The promise of the convocation of that Diet was never carried out, and Poland went on with her colonization schemes, just the same.

Within two years after the publication of the decree regulating the sale of great landed estates, the Polish government succeeded in selling to Polish colonists in Galicia about 160,000 ha. of land. The official reports state with a cynical frankness that for the sake of public opinion they had to sell to Ukrainians 10,000 ha. The agrarian law of July 15, 1920, speaks generally of the need to take into consideration local agrarian conditions,—perhaps in view of the approach of the Bolshevik armies, but the governmental practice continues along the lines of colonization of Ukrainian country by Poles. In this second period, which extends to the enactment of the law of December 28, 1925, further hundreds of thousands ha. in Galicia were sold to the Poles, Ukrainians being admitted to the purchase of the lands, in their own native country of pressing land-hunger, only in rare cases and at exorbitant prices. The law of December 28, 1925, which is after the permanent occupation of Galicia by Poland had been recognized by the Allies, speaks frankly of colonization. Art. 51 of the law leaves it at the discretion of the Minister of Agriculture to designate certain territories for colonization.

Whenever there was a letdown in the Polish policy of colonization, as e.g. about 1925, it was due not to any realization of the evil effects of such a policy, but merely to an acute economic crisis. The Government simply was not able to finance the colonization undertaken on so large a scale. Still Poland persists in her policy of colonization, in spite of the fact that Poland had promised in

her law of September 26, 1922, to discontinue colonization of Galicia.

Other Ukrainian provinces under Poland, which before the World War had been occupied by the Russian Empire, have also become the field of colonization.

But these territories themselves needed badly the land which the colonists were to occupy. This can be seen from the comparison of the density of the agricultural population with that of countries with more highly developed agricultural technique. Belgium, for instance, feeds to each square kilometer 54 persons of agricultural pursuits, Germany 33, France 31.5, and Denmark 34.1 persons, while Pidlashe and Kholm feed 56, Volhynia 65, and Galicia as many as 96 persons of agricultural pursuits per each square kilometer.

The introduction of the old system of colonization, of course, had to produce here the same results the system had always produced whenever it was introduced into a thickly populated country: a deep unrest. To keep down the growing unrest, Poland designed to bring as colonists military men. To be sure, they were not soldiers any more, but civilian members of civilian organizations whose military character was masked. As they were often not agriculturists at all, the native peasantry not only saw their "land fund" handed over to colonists imported from the West, but also were mortified to see it go to waste in inefficient hands. And conscious of their inefficiency in management of their farms, these military colonists compensated themselves by assuming arrogantly an attitude of higher culture. Unable to attain respect of their leadership among their neighbors for their economic achievements, for which they professedly came into the country, they began to vex the neighbors by persecution of their economic, social, cultural, sporting, and religious activities.

This policy is being continued to the present day, not only in the Ukrainian territory, but in the Lithuanian and White Ruthenian as well.

The peasant of the Polish race receives from the State aid in various forms. Among other things, he may borrow from the State money for the development of his farm. The peasant of a non-Polish race would be refused State aid if he applied for it. He has, however, to pay taxes, which are very high, while the yearly income of farmers in Poland is about 50 dollars per head. It is consequently a country of regular undernourishment and unemployment.

Before the war, many found relief in emigration, permanent emigration to America and seasonal emigration to Germany and France. Since the war, the permanent emigration is closed, the seasonal immigration greatly limited. For a non-Pole it is twice as difficult to emigrate as for a Pole.

A certain relief could be expected in the rise of agricultural technique, but the Polish government cares nothing for the technical education of the Ukrainians. There is in Poland not one public agricultural school, and the two Ukrainian private schools maintained by private collections of the Ukrainians, suffer from constant chicaneries of the Polish government.

The Ukrainian peasant tries to help himself by saving through the elimination of the middleman, by means of cooperation. These efforts, however, have become lately also the target of governmental persecutions.

Nothing but the extraordinary staying powers of the Ukrainian peasant, born of his weather attitudes and of his historic memories of having survived centuries of foreign misrules and Tartar and other invasions, can support his spirit and save him from despair. It is not in the interest of peace and order in Central and Eastern Europe to drive him to lose his spirit, as, strangely to say, Poland and Russia try so hard to do, Russia consciously, Poland unwittingly.

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## APPENDIX III.

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### THE POLISH COLONIZATION OF WESTERN UKRAINE

Having occupied by force the Ukrainian territory of an area of about 140,000 square kilometers and peopled by more than eight and a half million inhabitants (more than 6,500,000 Ukrainians, 1 million Jews, nearly 850,000 Poles, and more than 100,000 of White Russians, Czechs, Germans), Poland for more than ten years already has conducted a clearly defined political policy of relentless Polonization and colonization in these Ukrainian territories, in order to fortify in this manner her domination.

Poland conducts the colonization of the Ukrainian territories in spite of the fact that these territories are peopled by a numerous agricultural population and that the Ukrainian peasants each year are obliged to the number of 40,000 or 45,000 to abandon their native land and emigrate to America or other countries.

The Polish government statistics, as far as they concern the colonization and the division of the lands, are written in such a fashion that the progress of the colonization of the Ukrainian territory is not plainly visible. That is entirely understandable, in view of the aim of these statistics to conceal the colonization and not to reveal it. Besides this fundamental defect there exists another which consists of the fact that the data are not equivalent in essence and periods of time.

In spite of all, desiring that our statement approach reality as far as possible, we will base our deductions upon the Polish governmental statistics and will try to secure from them those results which are not at once obtainable, but which seem to us mostly truthful. In using the exact results of the statistics (*Miesięcznik Statystyczny*, *Kwartalnik Statystyczny*, and the *"Rolnictwo"*, for the years 1923-1930, Warszawa), we will take in account the conditions under which the colonization and division of the lands have been realized.

We will try to answer the following questions: 1, How many Polish colonists have been sent into Ukrainian territory; 2, What is the relative value of the farms which they have been accorded, and how much land do they occupy; 3, In what proportion has the land been accorded to the Ukrainian element and to strangers, during the colonization and division; 4, What financial aid the colonists have been given; 5, What are the plans for the future.



## I. THE NUMBER OF COLONISTS

The division and the colonization are two pages of the agrarian reform begun by the Law of July 15, 1920, completed by the Law of July 17, 1920 (Military Colonization), and modified by the Law of July 28, 1920. The colonization of the Ukrainian territories presents itself under two aspects: 1, the Military Colonization; 2, the Civilian Colonization.

The military colonization is based on the Law of July 17, 1920, in the four provinces near the eastern frontiers of Poland. In the Ukrainian territories it took place in Polisia and in Volhynia. In a general fashion, the State has taken over for the realization of this colonization 259,162 hectares of land. The further taking over of the property for this purpose, was stopped by the Law of March 24, 1923. Up to 1929, there have been placed in Polisia 1,296 families, in Volhynia 3,251, a total of 4,547 families of military colonists, or 18,188 people who flocked to the north-eastern territories of Ukraine on the occasion of this colonization.

The Civilian Colonization is accomplished by means of the forced division of property of big land owners, according to the above mentioned laws of the agrarian reform. The division of property has been accomplished either by the big land owners themselves, or by institutions created for that purpose or finally by the land authorities (the last only on Volhynia and Polisia).

From our calculations, there have been placed in Polisia 1,536 families, in Volhynia 2,853, in the province of Lviv 1,830, in that of Stanislawiv 1,406, in that of Tarnopol 3,907, in all 10,722 families composed of 58,971 persons.

That is to say that the Polish civilian and military colonization have already introduced into the Ukrainian territories 77,159 persons of the Polish race (15,269 families).

## II. THE AVERAGE HOUSEHOLDS AND THE AREA ACCORDED TO THE POLISH COLONISTS

On January 1, 1923, there were in Polisia 991 military colonists possessing 22,544 hectares of land (22 hectares per colonist), and in Volhynia 3,104 military colonists possessing 45,196 hectares of land (14.5 hectares for each colonist).

Since 1923, the military colonization has somewhat diminished, mainly because of the lack of funds to indemnify those whose land had been taken by the State, and whom, according to the Polish constitutions and several decrees of the Polish Supreme Court, indemnity was to be paid. That has evidently prevented a too

abundant distribution of land, and in 1929, the number of the Polish colonists has increased insignificantly. As a result of this 4,547 such Polish families are counted in Polisia and Volhynia, possessing 76,818 hectares of land.

It is a little more difficult to calculate the area of land occupied by the civilian colonists. The average size of the farm given to the civilian population, is considerably inferior. However, taking into account the fact that the colonists received much more land than the natives had we arrive at the following conclusions: In Polisia there have settled 1,536 families of civilian colonists, possessing 20,122 hectares of land; in Volhynia 2,853 families on an area of 23,594 hectares; in the province of Lviv 1,830 families on an area of 11,749 hectares; in the province of Stanyslaviv 1,406 families, on an area of 8,154 hectares; and in the province of Tarnopol 3,907 families on 17,901 hectares of land,—or in all 10,722 families, possessing 81,520 hectares. That is to say that a family possesses an average of 8 hectares.

It follows from our calculations that the minimum amount of land falling into the hands of the Polish military and civilian colonists is 158,338 hectares of land, or 26.4% of the total land divided (600,000 hectares) in the Ukrainian territory.

We pass to the third question:

### III. HOW MUCH OF THE LAND HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE POLES, AND HOW MUCH TO THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTS.

It must before all be emphasized that in the 441,946 hectares of land remaining, a considerable part has fallen into the hands of local Poles. To see clearly what has happened let us consider the religion of those to whom the land has been allotted: Thus from 1919 to 1929, in Volhynia and in Polisia the land has been divided between 73,401 families, of whom 14,746 families are Roman-Catholic, 56,783 families are Orthodox, and 1,872 families are of other religions. In Eastern Galicia 101,935 families have received land divided as follows: 48,572 families are Roman-Catholic, 52,252 Greek-Catholic, and 1,111 are of other religions. During the 10 years, the land in the Ukrainian territory has been distributed among 179,883 families (of which 4,547 are military colonists); of this 67,865 families are Roman-Catholic, 109,035 are Greek-Catholic and Orthodox, and 2,983 families are of other religions.

We see that in the total number of those who have been allotted land 37.7% are Roman-Catholics (Poles), 60.6% are Greek-Catholic and Orthodox (Ukrainians), and 1.7% are of other reli-

gions,—and this at a time when the Polish population in the Ukrainian territory did not amount to more than 10% of the total population.

Let us pass then to the calculation of the area accorded to the different groups. The military and the civilian colonists, with the exception of a small number, are Poles. We know the allotment of land to them. The allotments of the particular groups of those receiving land from the division were calculated according to the actual average, on the assumption that there were no differences in the size of the allotments. Thus the Roman-Catholics, who number 67,875 families (of which 52,596 families are Poles who had previously settled in the Western Ukrainian territories) have obtained 279,931 hectares of land, 46.7% of the divided land (of which the Polish colonists have obtained 26.4%). As opposed to this, 109,035 families of Greek-Catholics and Orthodox have received only 311,314 hectares, or 51.8%, and the families of other religions, who number 2,893 families, received 9,039 hectares.

We see then that, up to today, more than a quarter of the divided land in the Ukrainian territories has been given to the Polish colonists and in this manner about half of this land has passed into Polish possession. That is to say that 67,865 Polish families have already obtained land in the Ukrainian territories, 15,269 of them having been brought from the ethnographic Polish territory. We note that the colonization is most intense in Polisia and Volhynia (32.3% of the divided land) but that relatively less of the land has passed into the hands of the local Poles. This is because there hardly exists a Polish peasant population in these provinces.

Our calculations show only the minimum area of the land given to the Polish colonists and generally to the Poles who received land. The reason of this is that the calculation of the area allotted to local Poles was based upon the assumption that no difference has been between the Poles and the Ukrainians in the division of the land. As a matter of fact, however, the allotments to the Poles were considerably larger than the leavings thrown to the Ukrainian population with the object of quieting them. We are able to state with certainty that both the area allotted to the Poles, and the number of the Poles acquiring land,—both local Poles and Polish civilian colonists, is much greater than shown in our calculations.

## IV. FINANCIAL AID

The Polish military colonists received land not for money, but for various services. The State appropriated for that purpose whole estates, (in total 259,162 hectares) in the territory adjoining the eastern frontier, without intending at first to remunerate the ousted owners. But after the promulgation of the Constitution, it became apparent that the despoiled proprietors would have to be remunerated the more as they brought suits to the Supreme Court and the Highest Administrative Tribunal and won the suits. It was not possible to return the land as the military colonists had already taken possession. The further appropriation of lands was stopped, as far as we know, by the law of March 24, 1923. The State debt incurred by the appropriation of lands amounted on April 1, 1928, to more than 100 million zlotys. It was decided to cover one half of the debts by government notes, the other half by agrarian-reform bonds. But that is not all. It was necessary to give the military colonists State aid for the management of their farms. This State aid came in two ways: credit and direct aid without the obligation of repayment. From 1924, to January 1, 1930, the colonists received 26 million zlotys in credit and 5,878,000 zlotys in cash. In all, for the military colonization 132 million zlotys were spent.

The sums mentioned above refer to the colonization in full. Out of this sum 48,664,000 zlotys were expended for the colonization of the Ukrainian territory. Of this sum 33,126,000 zlotys have been given to the military colonists in cash gratis, and 15,500,000 in credit. A colonist on the average costs 10,700 zlotys, of which 7,286 zlotys were in land and financial aid, and 3,417 zlotys in credit.

The civilian colonization has received in all of Poland various credits and aid to the amount of 292 million zlotys. Of that sum 204 million zlotys fall to the debts on the lands distributed through the State, and the balance constitutes the loans of the State agrarian bank and various other aids out of State funds. A large part of this sum went to support Polish colonists in the Ukrainian territory because this aid of 10,722 families of Polish civilian colonists was not smaller than the aid accorded to 4,547 families of military colonists. On the contrary, the Ukrainian population, which received small allotments of land, received almost no aid from this source.

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The question of colonization, however, is not exhausted by the statement of the existing state of affairs. There remained yet the second page of the colonization, namely

#### V. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

These are already prepared, and constitute a grave menace to Western Ukraine, that of losing a great part of her territory. There is afoot a grandiose plan to drain Polisia with the aim of establishing there 200,000 Polish families on an area of 2,250,000 hectares of land, drained and ameliorated. In the meantime only 750,000 hectares are marked for division among the native population. The plan embraces altogether 3 million hectares of land, of which 25% only will be for the Ukrainian peasants. The first attempts have been already made: there is a model farm, the work is being conducted on 6,500 hectares of land, some Polish colonists have already volunteered.

As we see, the Polish Government wishes at all costs to colonize with the Polish element particularly those Ukrainian territories (Polisia and Volhynia), where the Polish population does not equal 8% of the total population.

In general, Poland has introduced into the Ukrainian territory occupied by such a regime and conducts such a colonial policy towards the Ukrainian population, ignoring completely the economic progress of Western Ukraine, that it makes it impossible for peace to reign. Moreover, a regime of terror may bring about new unexpected complications.

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## AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD'S OPINION.

The whole world wants peace and strives to attain it. This peace is needed by the Ukrainian people, and is needed more, perhaps, than by any other people because the Ukrainian territory was a field of constant warfare during and after the World War. Not only is this peace absent on the Ukrainian soil but, what is more, on the Ukrainian territory under Poland are happening events which may easily lead to a revolutionary outbreak and to a new war. For that reason the American Ukrainians want to draw the world's attention to those existing conditions, concentrating on only one incident: on the recent Polish bloody "pacification" in Galicia. The American Ukrainians want to bring to the world's attention those recent barbarities with the object of letting the world draw its own conclusions whether or not a living people can submit to this type of treatment. We wish that the world should understand the soul of those Ukrainians under Poland who were forced to desperate revolutionary methods of self preservation, seeing that Poland, who takes part in various international peace conferences, at home declares war to the 7,000,000 Ukrainian subjects, ignores all international obligations toward the national minorities, and tries to fix the Ukrainian-Polish conflict by means of punitive expeditions and terror.

The foment in Western Ukraine is only a natural reaction of the Ukrainian subjugated people whom Poland does not permit to live and develop. One million American Ukrainians feel deeply the trials of the Ukrainians in Europe and the injustice which was meted to the Ukrainian people at the time when they, with a firm belief in the triumph of democracy and the right of self-determination, began to build on their own land their own government. This injustice is felt all the more because it was here in America that President Wilson first proclaimed the right of national self-determination which should have given freedom not only to the Polish people but the Ukrainian people as well. The same President proclaimed before the American Congress, on January 8, 1918, a declaration in which he favored the reconstruction of Poland with a definite statement to the effect that Poland must arise on territories where the Polish population creates an unquestionable majority. It was nobody else but President Wilson that requested the government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, in his note of March 17, 1919, to discard further military activities, to stop war with Poland, and to wait for the decision of the international commission, promising a just settlement of the inde-

pendence of Western Ukraine. The government of Western Ukraine at that time agreed to the proposition presented, because at the time it could not even suppose that the President's proclamation of the peoples' right to self-determination was not intended for the Ukrainian people. The right of self-determination was ignored and the Council of Ambassadors, by its decision of March 15, 1923, gave Western Ukraine to Poland. The result of this step was such that Poland, having the backing of such a decision, strengthened her exterminative policy against the 7,000,000 Ukrainians under Poland and, following this policy, went to the extent of instigating such barbaric deeds as was the recent bloody "pacification." It is certain that neither the American government nor President Wilson nor even the Council of Ambassadors desired or expected such consequences. But that does not relieve them from the responsibility of what is happening in Poland because they were the ones that created Poland and ceded to her Western Ukraine, disregarding the protest of the whole Ukrainian people.

We do not know whether the Great Powers will take steps to protect Ukrainian population in Poland from new Polish barbarities, but we do know that the world opinion has taken the Ukrainian people in defense. The American public opinion has already defended the unfortunate victims of the Polish "pacification" on the Western Ukrainian territory and has already protested against the Polish barbarities. The American press and public have understood why anti-Polish demonstrations have taken place throughout the American continent, in which hundreds of thousands of people have taken part. The American people have understood why the American Ukrainians had named the month of November, 1930, a month of national mourning for the Ukrainian victims of Polish brutalities; they have understood why the 15th of that month of November was set as the day of anti-Polish mass demonstrations and the following Sunday, the 16th of November, as the day of prayer for the unfortunate victims of that Polish terror. American senators, congressmen, university professors, spiritual leaders of different churches and many other prominent people have already made public protests against the enslavement of the Ukrainians by Poland. The public opinion has already said its word. Voices of protest against Polish barbarity have arisen not only in the United States but throughout the civilized world and in the oldest parliament of the world, in the British House of Commons, was introduced an interpellation regarding the bloody terror in Western Ukraine.

Thanks to the voiced world opinion the League of Nations for the first time has undertaken to investigate the Ukrainian appeals

directed against the Polish barbarities in Western Ukraine. But this is only the beginning. The opinion of the world is able to do another great service for the world peace problem and for the betterment of the Ukrainian people's position under Poland. It can force Poland to respect agreements and to fulfill the international obligations toward the Ukrainians, which she accepted. As long as there will be no actual international control over her so long will she hold the Ukrainian people in that state of despair, which means that revolutionary upheavals of the oppressed people will be considered the only possible act of self-defense.

The Ukrainian nation does not desire to be an obstacle to the world peace. It does not wish to hamper the peace moves of the Great Powers or the League of Nations, nor does it want to see at home such desperate steps taking place: revolutionary steps which may lead up to international military conflicts. One should bear in mind that the reason for these revolutionary disturbances is the Polish terrorism. In answer to terror the oppressed have no other choice in their despair.

For this reason, to prevent any violent acts of desperation it is necessary in the first place to suppress the Polish terror and to force Poland to fulfill her international obligations. That is what the League of Nations should bear in mind. For the settlement of the conflict which arose in Memel, there was appointed, at the time, an international commission; the city of Danzig was taken under international protection; in Silesia there is a representative of the League of Nations; and yet Western Ukraine, with its 7,000,000 of Ukrainians, was subjected to Poland's uncontrolled oppression. The Great Powers knew how to give away Western Ukraine to Poland, but did not wish to protect her from the Polish terror. Let it be protected then by the opinion of the world.

The Ukrainians under Poland are conscious of the fact that they, although 7,000,000 in number, are only a part of the great Ukrainian race with which they are tied closely by historical traditions, culture, language, and the same national aspirations. For that reason, all decisions regarding Western Ukraine may be considered ultimate only then when it will satisfy the aspiration of the Ukrainian people, which is the creation of an undivided, independent Ukrainian government built on the principles of democracy.

#### UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

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# Legend

- Ukrainians
- Poles
- White Russians
- Lithuanians
- National Boundaries
- Old Frontier of Galicia
- Frontiers of constituent Rep. of U.S.S.R.
- Ethnographic Frontiers



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